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ART. I. *Narrative of a voyage of the ship Morrison, captain D. Ingersoll, to Lewchew and Japan, in the months of July and August, 1837.* By S. WELLS WILLIAMS. (*Concluded from p. 229.*)

JULY 16TH. During the last night we passed around the southern point of Lewchew, and at daybreak were at the distance of eighteen or twenty miles from its eastern shore. Favored with a light wind, we sailed along the coast in a northeasterly direction—the scenery presenting nothing peculiar, Mount Onnodake being the only conspicuous object. A few fishing canoes came alongside, each containing three or four natives, with whom our Japanese entered into conversation, and who eagerly received some ship's provisions. These fishermen were almost destitute of the tackle necessary for capturing their food; and for squalidness and poverty appeared to be worse than any seen on the other side of the island.—In conversation, to-day, Mr. Gutzlaff mentioned having enjoyed a very pleasant visit on shore at Napa, where he went early yesterday morning, for the purpose of hastening the supplies for the Raleigh. He went into the city, (which from his description is in most respects like Pootsung, though much longer,) attended by several of the officers; and was, together with his companions, furnished with a breakfast. In his walks through the streets, he met a number of horses of a diminutive size, coming down from Shoody, laden with panniers of sugar, but otherwise remarked no domestic animals. The officers who waited on him were inquisitive to know more about the destination of the Morrison, her character and nation, and how the Japanese were wrecked; extending their inquiries to many topics which they before could not find opportunity to touch upon, and which his fluency of speech enabled him to answer without having recourse to the pencil; evincing, in their remarks, an intelligent curiosity. He said, a few, among whom was

Anyah, remembered his visit in the Lord Amherst in 1831; but the stay, both in the previous and present, visits, was too transient to allow of renewing or making many acquaintances.

July 28th. For the last ten or twelve days we have slowly approached the coast of Japan, aided most of the way by a powerful current. After leaving the Lewchew group, on the 17th, we passed, in longitude $123^{\circ} 49'$ east, a small but high island, supposed to be Wukido, although by our chronometers its position, as laid down on the charts, was twenty-six miles too far east. The next day, another small conical island was seen, not marked in the charts, which may prove a discovery, but is more probably a new position for Bungalow island, one of the chain that stretches from Kiusiu to Lewchew. The passage, after leaving this island, was remarkable for the oppressive heat—a heat whose sultriness was not measured by the thermometer, but which deprived one of all energy both mental and physical. This state of weather was in direct opposition to the united testimony of all our authors, from Mendez Pinto to Krusenstern inclusive; and had we had an augurer on board, we should no doubt have drawn a presage of a favorable, if not warm, reception from the imperial court, whither we were bound.

July 29th. This morning, the early light revealed to us the southern point of the principality Toōtomi, called Chana-saki, a bluff headland, made still more conspicuous by the low line of contiguous coast which diverges to the northward. It was immediately and joyfully recognized by Iwakitchi, who, as well as his companions, had been on the lookout for one or two days to catch a glimpse of their native land. The current, aided by a light breeze, carried us rapidly past this headland, and by 9 o'clock we raised the high point of Iro-saki, the southern extremity of the principality of Izu. Soon after, the chain of islands that extend off from the southeast corner of Nipon appeared in sight, which, with Iro-saki, form the waymarks of our passage up the bay of Yédo.

Some of this chain are large islands, supporting a sparse population; others of them are small uninhabited islets, between which are many insulated rocks. One of the southerly and best known of the group is Fachisio or Fatsisio, the Botany Bay of the Japanese, where the seogun banishes all the obnoxious nobility and men of troublesome talent, and where they are employed in various trades and elegant arts, chiefly, it is said, in furnishing the imperial family with silken garments. Kämpfer tells us, that the banks of the island are so steep, that whenever any provision or person is to be landed, the boat and all its cargo must be hoisted up by powerful cranes, lest the boat be dashed in pieces by the surf. It lies about 160 miles directly south of Yédo, and 110 south-southeast from Iro-saki, in latitude 33° north, and longitude 140° east, and is encompassed by several small islands, all of which, from their description, are of volcanic origin. The largest of the islands, between Fachisio and the mainland, are Oōsima (or I. Vries,) and I. du Volcan, on both of which there are volcanoes, some of whose eruptions have been very destructive of life

and property : in consequence of one that happened many years since in Oō-sima, the inhabitants fled from the island to the principality of Izu, and since that catastrophe there has been no fixed population. The waters around these islands teem with fish, and an extensive fishery is carried on by small craft from the contiguous coasts. From our position the lowermost islands were not discernible, but Oō-sima and others which could be seen were partially wooded, and showed traces of cultivation.

The coast of Nipon opposite to us presented a magnificent gallery of mountains, rising from the abrupt and indented shore in an irregular gradation into lofty and still loftier peaks, until the summit of Mount Fusi, at the estimated height of 14,000 feet, ended the series. This mountain is very famous in Japanese story, being, as Kæmpfer says, so renowned, that "poets cannot find words, nor painters skill and colors, sufficient to represent it as they think it deserves." It was about forty miles from us, and the top resembled the roof of a house, (whence its name Fusi,) with the gable end pointing towards the sea, and the smooth, barren sides, for many hundred feet, gradually sloping downwards. The peak is represented as being almost inaccessible by reason of a broad barrier of fine sand on its acclivity ; and is, moreover, the reputed residence of Eolus, and the entrance to the hades of Budhistic mythology, inasmuch, as the summit is rarely clear of mist or clouds, and there are the traces of an immense crater near the top. The priests of Yamabus often refer to this mountain in their incantations, and use the name Fusi-yama, as a kind of watchword. In the ravines near the top, large masses of snow still rested, and we were told that it remained in greater or less quantities during the whole year. The clouds that enveloped the peak would now and then roll off to the northward, giving us a glimpse of it in all its solitary loftiness and grandeur ; and sometimes the sublimity of the view was increased, when the summit peered above the belt of clouds which encircled the sides, while its own outline rested in bold relief upon the clear sky.

The southern extremity of the principality of Izu, which, in its oblong, peninsular form, greatly resembles Yucatan in Gautimala, is a bold promontory, whose shores are skirted with sharp conical peaks or *aiguilles* of naked granite. Numerous coves in the coast afford the fishing craft secure retreats from the tempest, and the bay of Simoda was pointed out to us as a large and commodious harbor. The country, a short distance from the shore, was exceedingly uneven, and apparently but little cultivated ; the ravines and those hills whose contour was rounded were in some places thickly wooded, but the general aspect of the scenery was that of remediless sterility. This opinion, drawn as it was from our position, would no doubt be greatly modified on a closer examination, for there were extensive tracts of intermediate levels entirely hid from view ; yet our Japanese said the country was poor and thinly settled, and that many parts in the mountainous districts were infested with wolves, bears, and other wild animals. The southern cape is remarkable for a white bluff,

off which lies a large rock. About two miles from this cape, in a southerly direction, is a small naked rock not laid down in the chart, forming a serious danger in the navigation of the bay of Yédo.

As the ship approached the land, the number of junks and boats in sight increased; at one time we counted between forty and fifty, most of them bound westward, right before the wind. Iwakitchi, who was pretty good authority in such matters, having been at Yédo upwards of twenty times, according to his own account, said that the fleet had probably been windbound and prevented coming out of the bay—not an unusual occurrence. There were boats and junks of many sizes, from a fishing smack up to a junk of 200 or 300 tons, all in their general form and rigging resembling those at Napa keäng. The single mast was supported by a large forestay, and by several backstays, passing to the sides of the vessel. Off the wind, they sailed with a rolling motion; and when close hauled, made much lee-way, being like the Chinese vessels without keels. They neither avoided nor sought us, though their proximity to the shore prevented our speaking or approaching any of them. Towards evening their number decreased, and by nightfall, whatever may have been the reason, there was not one to be seen, except a few at anchor in an inlet. Giusabaru, who appears to be well informed in naval affairs, says that the names of vessels are usually three Chinese characters, the last one of which is always *fan* (all), applied in this case to mean a vessel.

During the day, though opposed by a northeasterly wind, we gradually advanced into the bay of Yédo, still aided by the powerful current that had hitherto befriended us. The feelings of the Japanese were highly excited at the sight of their native hills, and the prospect of again meeting their families and friends; and as we passed along, the three Owári men pointed out headlands and objects familiar to them. Oō-sima is a conspicuous object at the entrance of the bay; its conical summit being almost constantly covered with clouds, which were at times so dense and peculiar that we thought the volcano on the island was in action. The small bay of Sagami, which lies east of the peninsula of Izu, opened upon us as we passed in between Iro-saki and Oō-sima; and night closed in when we were opposite its entrance. The feelings of the party during the day were of a mixed, indescribable nature—a compound of hope, fear, and expectation, which comes over one when on the eve of some event that he supposes will form an era in his life. During the night, as we beat up the bay, fires were observed burning on several eminences, from which we inferred that our approach was known, and the intelligence by this means conveyed to the capital. We were told that on the most prominent headlands along the southern coast, there are fires lighted every night for the guidance of vessels, which are sustained by the government. The fires in this instance, however, differed from any which our men had before seen, and were in different situations.

July 30th. The morning light found us not far south of Mi-saki or cape Sagami, the southern point of the principality of the same

name, and which also forms the western point of the entrance to the bay of Yédo, more properly speaking. The bay of Yédo, as it is called, is a large estuary, between thirty and forty miles wide at its entrance, and extending thirty miles north at nearly a uniform width, up to Mi-saki. This is the southerly point of a small peninsula, forming part of the principality of Sagami, which projects into the estuary, and on the western side of it, towards the shores of Izu, lies the bay of Sagami, at its entrance being about twenty miles wide. Mi-saki and Su-saki, (or cape Su,) both very prominent headlands, lying from each other nearly northeast and southwest, twelve or fifteen miles apart, form the entrance to the bay of Yédo, at the north end of which the capital stands, forty miles from Su-saki. The clear atmosphere, which we had yesterday, was this morning succeeded by a drizzling rain, rendered still more unpleasant by the head wind, and which entirely obscured the contiguous shores. This sudden and disagreeable change, while the barometer was at its usual elevation, is explained by the high mountains in the vicinity condensing the vapor, which, as the clouds become surcharged, falls upon the surrounding country, keeping it in a continual shower-bath.

The banks of the bay are abrupt, but not high; and as we approached either side in our zigzag course, the shores offered an agreeable variety of hill and dale, covered with vegetation. Trees of many sizes and kinds skirted the tops of the hills, and a low growth of bushes their sides, both of a lively green, giving the scenery a cheerful aspect, very different from the ruggedness of the mountains in Izu.

About twelve o'clock, we first heard the distant report of guns, though it was sometime before the fact could be distinctly ascertained, on account of the haziness, and the noise attendant on working the ship. The reports were heard at considerable intervals, and we assigned different reasons for so unexpected a proceeding; nor could the Japanese give us a satisfactory clue to operations so opposed to all their experience; and they suggested hoisting the ensign. Some thought that the guns were to report to the court our progress; others surmised that the officers near the harbor of Uragawa did not feel at liberty to allow a foreign vessel to pass into the anchorage without orders from their superiors, and some suggested they were saluting the ship: but all our doubts concerning their designs were removed, as soon as the weather cleared up, and we saw the balls falling towards the ship half a mile ahead. The guns were stationed on the point at the entrance of the harbor; and in order to guard the passage completely, guns were fired from the opposite side of the bay;—between them was a distance of five or six miles. There was but little danger to be apprehended from the metal of the guns, for the channel was sufficiently wide for beating out of their reach; yet the evident determination of the officers on shore to prevent our farther progress into the "inner waters," induced us to come to anchor where we then were, about two miles below the point. Breakers, a short distance ahead, also indicated other dangers that were to be avoided; but the

lead, which had been constantly hoisted while we were coming in, had hitherto reported a depth of twenty fathoms in the mid channel, gradually shoaling towards either side, and we brought up in seven fathoms. The firing from both sides ceased soon after we anchored.

The harbor of Uragawa, which it had been our intention to gain before anchoring, is on the western side of the bay, above the point where the guns were placed, and is the stopping-place of all vessels before going to Yédo. Here reside officers whose duty is to examine the manifests and crews of the inward bound vessels, ascertain that the two exactly correspond, that there are no women on board, and give a passport of entrance to the port of Shinagawa further up. We were told that decapitation is the punishment inflicted upon all the crew of any junk in which a female is detected; and that, when the manifest does not tally with the crew, detention and difficulty ensue. The shores of the harbor are lined with habitations, and the adjacent country is represented as densely peopled, and highly cultivated. Sixteen *ri* (about 23 miles) above Uragawa is Shinagawa, where all vessels proceed after they have been examined and passed, and where they unlade and receive cargo, it being only one *ri* from Yédo, and rather a suburb of the capital than a separate place. The bay above Uragawa spreads out into an extensive sheet of water, in some parts twenty-five miles across, in which junks and fishing craft are constantly sailing. Otokitchi says, that he has seen between seventy and eighty sail of vessels arrive and depart from Shinagawa in one day, and that the number usually anchored there is upwards of a thousand. The comparatively narrow entrance to the bay below Uragawa enables the Japanese to guard the approach to the capital in a very effectual manner, and the extreme caution they manifest in searching all coasting craft, apparently indicates some apprehension of danger from that quarter.

The anchorage we had taken was just off the outer point of a small curve in the shore, on the upper end of which the guns were placed. The nearest land was about three fourths of a mile, and from that spot the shore took a deep circular sweep, and then rounded gradually up to the higher point; at the bottom of the curve, on the banks of a small stream, were a few poor huts of fishermen, partly hid under the trees, the only dwellings in sight. A sandy beach extended the whole length of the bay, behind which the country rose in irregular gradations, diversified by cultivated field and bleak or wooded hills for a long distance inland. The southern and nearest point was a bluff hill covered with low pines, and from it the shore stretched to the south for several miles in a continuous, unbroken cliff, that rose almost perpendicularly from the beach. The numerous hills before us were for the most part rounded in their contour, and usually bore groves of trees either on their summits or sides. Many of them were terraced in a manner that showed the industry of the inhabitants; some were thus improved whose acclivities were so steep that the hill-sides resembled a flight of stairs, apparently without any flat surface on which plants could grow. Others were on gentler elevations,

where the grain could be discerned. Some of the fields were of a bright green, like young grain, and adjoining them were others of a dark green or blackish hue, like grass or turned up loam; and this contrast, still more variegated by the clumps of trees scattered about, rendered the scenery picturesque in the highest degree. No towns or solitary mansions were seen; but in the low wooded ravines, or hid behind the hills, we suspected there were settlements, from the rows of trees which led over the face of the country, and which, Kämpfer says, are usually planted on both sides of the public highways. The absence of solitary mansions scattered here and there in a landscape, whose presence forms a prominent feature in European scenery, is, I believe, with few or no exceptions, a distinctive characteristic of views in heathen countries: either from suspicion, or insecurity, or predilection to gregarious habits, the people usually cluster together in villages or towns. The landscape before us did not extend many miles, being bounded by an irregular range of hills in the horizon, but the beauty of that which we could see, raised a strong desire to make further explorations. The shores beyond the upper point of the curvature made another gentle sweep, whose upper termination formed the beginning of the harbor of Uragawa. The eastern shore, belonging to the principality of Kazusa, was too far distant to see much more than its uneven outline and lofty hills; but it was as green and well wooded as that near us. On an eminence, near the spot where the guns were placed, we observed a smoke, probably the remains of the signal-fires of the previous night, which was kept up until evening.

We anchored about 3 P. M., and soon after boats began to approach the ship; but the few first could not be induced to come alongside, and returned to the shore, satisfied with gazing at the ship and masts. An old man first ventured up the sides, who as he crossed the gangway took a survey of the deck, and then stepped down. When fairly aboard, he saluted us by slowly bending his body and suspending his arms, until his fingers nearly touched the deck. He then proceeded to examine the objects about him, slowly passing from one to another, but was speedily interrupted and recalled by his companions; but on his favorable report, all immediately clambered on board. Other boats now arrived, and the decks were soon covered with Japanese, who went over the ship, making their remarks on what they saw to each other, without paying much heed to the foreigners. The pigs and geese were scrutinized with great attention by them; and in explanation, Otokitchi said that both those animals, although known, were but little used in this part of the island. The height of the masts and rigging were also sources of unceasing wonder, and the boats often stopped a little distance from the ship, while the inmates, to whom a foreign vessel would naturally be an object of interest, gazed upwards. Our visitors appeared friendly, at first coming up to us with questions; but soon, ascertaining the inability of most of us to speak their language, they made their remarks among themselves, or carried their doubts to Mr. Gutzlaff. Nothing except a small fish was brought for

sale; nor would they part with their little articles of dress, although none made any objection to receiving whatever was offered.

The majority were thinly clad, notwithstanding the cold rain; a piece of cloth around the loins, or a loose gown thrown over the shoulders, secured at the waste by a girdle, was their usual covering. A few wore quilted cotton jackets, whose tattered condition and repeated mendings indicated the poverty of the wearer; and now and then, when an individual had become chilly and wet from exposure to the rain, he would borrow his neighbor's garment for a short time, certainly a convenient accommodation. Their sandals were made of grass, modeled like those of the Lewchewans; few, however, wore them; nor were the heads of many covered. The Japanese shave the crown of the head, leaving the hair on the sides above the ears to grow long, and combing it back to the occiput, where the whole is gathered up into a cue and brought upwards and forwards to the crown, and tied with a cord; when tied, the end is cut square off, leaving a little tuft on the top. Whenever the hair above the ears is neglected and falls slovenly over the neck and shoulders, it gives a peculiarly haggard, ruffian-like aspect to the person; but the heads of most of those we saw were neatly dressed. Until the age of thirteen to sixteen, lads suffer the hair over the whole head to grow, binding it in two tufts on the crown; and the first shaving of the young man is equivalent to the ceremony of putting on the toga among the ancient Romans. The women are not shaved, but bind their long hair on their heads with a profusion of combs and ornaments, making rather a fanciful headdress. In the general cast of their countenances, our visitors differed considerably from the Chinese, while the points of resemblance were sufficient to indicate their connection with the great Mongolian race of northern Asia. In their oblong, sunken, and angular eyes, they were like the Chinese; but their short necks, snub-noses, high cheek-bones and inferior stature, approximate rather to the Coreans, Kuriles, and northern branches, than to the sons of Han. Many of them have heavy beards, and the majority were large-limbed men.

To all, who by their dress or otherwise appeared more respectable than the others, we gave pieces of paper, on which was written a request for the presence of an officer on board with whom we could communicate. These papers were written in Chinese, which was soon discovered to be unintelligible to the greater part of our visitors; Mr. Gutzlaff, however, explained their purport, and added, that we wished water and provisions.

Not knowing the impression which the fact of our having Japanese on board might make on the people, nor how much this previous information would affect their ultimate safe reception by the authorities, it was thought best to conceal the men from their countrymen, at least from the very first visitors. When an officer came on board, the men were to be given over to him, allowed to tell their own story, and receive ample assurance of safety from the government before they should leave the ship. We also wished to learn the reception a ves-

sel would receive, which came into the harbors of the Japanese empire simply asking for water and provisions.

One man, who was thought to be an official personage, or an emissary from officers on shore, came on deck with an air of great authority, looking about him with much disdain, not unmingled with a little amazement; but, after partaking some refreshment, he became more friendly and good-humored. The boat in which this man came was larger than the others, and crowded with natives, none of whom came on board; but, having received again the official character, who only tarried long enough to glance at the vessel and its inmates, and to take away a request for an officer, it returned towards the upper part of the bay, from whence it had sailed. This boat attracted our attention a little, and we followed its course, with a glass, up to the point, where we saw a large crowd assembled on the beach, and four or five square red boards, bearing inscriptions, stuck in the ground, with the faces towards us. Several boats were observed around the point, and some of those which visited the ship returned thither. The most reasonable cause we could assign for the crowd was, that the inhabitants of a village, hid beyond the point, had come down there to see the strange vessel.

The boats in which the natives came off were rudely though strongly built of pine; and most of them carried a sail of coarse cotton canvass, suspended from a single moveable mast. Their progress was accelerated by three or four large sculls attached to each side near the stern on pivots, and formed of two pieces lashed together like the Chinese; with this difference, that the loom was very broad at its lower end, in its general shape resembling a paddle; the upper surface was convex, and the rounded edges made the under somewhat concave; this form appeared to be for convenience in sculling. Some of the largest of the boats were thirty feet long and six wide, having the two ends open like a scow, and carrying between twenty and thirty men. In two or three were a few women of whom we did not see much; for they were fully occupied in protecting themselves from the rain, piling bamboo cloaks and hats upon their persons, in a very singular manner, while they lay in the bottom of the boats; but, unlike what is described by former visitors to Japan, all was peaceful, as if the natives neither feared us, nor suspected us of any covert design. All manifested friendly feelings, partaking of the refreshments offered them, inquiring our business, scrutinizing the ship and all on board, and inviting us to go on shore and ramble. Some of them promised to inform the officers of our request, but this promise was given in such an odd manner, as if from persons utterly unused to magisterial dignities, and whose line of life had been at a great remove from the precincts of a court, that we hardly knew what to predicate. They appeared much surprised that not any one of us was able to converse with them; some would seize the arm, enter in to earnest discourse, and then, after a few unsuccessful sentences, leave us, seemingly amazed at our doltishness and the ill success of their eloquence. By seven o'clock the last boat had left the ship, there

having been in all upwards of two hundred visitors; and to return their visit a trip on shore in the morning was planned.

July 31st. During the night the weather cleared up a little, with occasional squalls. Towards four o'clock, three or four boats were seen coming down in shore from the upper point, which stopped near the fishing huts, and the men in them landed, and assembled on a low hummock near the beach. No particular notice was taken of their movements, until we were saluted by a cannon-ball, whistling over the ship, succeeded by three others, fired from four guns planted on the hillock where the party was assembled. This movement was so unexpected that we were for a moment nonplussed as to their intentions; and hoisted the colors, and soon after a white flag, in order to induce some one to come on board to explain the reason for such proceedings. No heed was given to our signals, and the firing continuing, we began to weigh anchor, and make sail. To show them that we were leaving, the spanker was hoisted; but the firing rather increased, and one ball struck the bulwarks, ploughing up the deck in its progress, but doing no other damage. There being sixty fathoms of cable run out, and a crew of only sixteen men to weigh anchor and make sail, we were exposed to the firing for an hour; but, although several other shot came very near, yet by the protecting mercy of God over us, none of the ship's company were injured. The manner of serving the guns was unskillful, some of the shot going over the masthead, and others falling halfway between the shore and the ship. The balls made a loud whistling, as they passed, which was caused perhaps by their rough casting. As we were leaving, the ebb tide discovered to us a line of breakers projecting from the bluff point near the ship directly into the stream, and just astern of us, but the wind favoring, we passed out above them, and were shortly beyond injury from balls or rocks. The gun-boats which had been seen early in the morning, now left the shore, and bore down upon us, each carrying thirty to forty men, with flags displayed, and firing swivels at us with commendable activity. When fairly off in the stream, we lay to for them to approach, but they soon returned. In order to induce some one to come alongside, a piece of canvass was thrown overboard on which was painted in Chinese, that a foreign ship desired to return a few shipwrecked men, and to procure water and refreshments. This was picked up by a boat, which, instead of coming to the ship, stood in for the shore.

It now became a serious question, what course it was best to pursue; two presented themselves: either to remain longer in the bay of Yédo, anchoring in the stream, or near the shore lower down; or to leave this port, and gain another port on the southern coast as quickly as possible. The latter commended itself, inasmuch as it was thought the officers here would not be favorable to our object, after committing themselves, by thus unceremoniously driving us away. We might stop near one of the many towns that lay on either side of the bay, near its entrance, as did captain Gordon in 1817, and give our documents to the first man who came aboard,

requesting him to take them on shore, and give them to an officer to send to Yédo, and telling him that we would wait for an answer. But the tidings of our approach to the coast were already known in all the region around, and the news of the summary manner in which our audacious attempt to penetrate the *mare clausum* of the bay of Yédo had been repelled, would spread like wild-fire, and probably prevent any inferior officer from executing our requests. The same system of mutual responsibility which produces so many baneful effects in China, obtains in the Japanese government; and if we should get our documents ashore, the officer would no doubt desire to screen his own head by first asking permission of the court at Yédo to receive and forward them. We could not anchor where we then were on account of the depth of water, and the exposure; for the place was no better than an open roadstead, with 15 to 30 fathoms, and a stony bottom, and the tides running like a sluice. The arguments against leaving the capital without opening a communication were strong and fully felt, especially when we had to do with a government so feudal as the Japanese, where every petty prince is amenable to his liege for his every action, suspicious of his peers, and cautious that what he does be not reported at court to his discredit. Some perhaps would have advised us to renew the attempt at the entrance of the bay, excusing ourselves to whoever came on board, for going up to Urugawa, by pleading ignorance of the regulations, and our desire to be as near Yédo as possible. However, 'uniting the circumstances,' as the Chinese would say, it was concluded to leave the bay for Toba in the principality of Sima, about 150 miles southwest of Yédo, from whence Iwakitchi and his two companions embarked, when they were shipwrecked.

If another attempt were made it was important to do it immediately, lest information of our repulsion should be sent along the coast, and orders given to all the officers to drive us away. Moreover, it was very unlikely that the court of Yédo knew our nation, object, or character, and on many accounts it was very desirable to declare all these points fully, even if the other objects of the voyage should not be gained. The indignation and disappointment of our men were as great as their previous hopes had been high; they were warm in their denunciations against the petty officers at Urugawa for so unprovoked an attack. Those of them that had visited the place, said, the officers must have taken great pains to bring cannon a long distance down to the point to fire at us, and richly deserved to be brought to condign punishment.

The clear atmosphere enabled us, on leaving the bay, to see both shores, each presenting a variety of forest and field, clad in nature's liveliest green, that all left with regret. Most of our information concerning the several places which lie around this noble estuary is derived from books; a few details may assist the readers to understand the locality of some of the places mentioned. Yédo, the capital of the empire and seat of power, is situated in latitude $35^{\circ} 40'$ north, and longitude $139^{\circ} 50'$ east, in the principality of Musasi, at the head

of a large bay, and the embouchure of Toda-gawa, one of the largest rivers in Nipon; besides ruling its own province, it exercises a superintending control over the two neighboring principalities of Sagami and Izu. The road to it from the west is over high mountains, passing through narrow defiles, where soldiers are stationed to examine all passengers. The pass at Takoni in Suruga, from the description given of it, is another Thermopylæ, where the seogun has placed a guard to intercept all suspected persons, and forbid the passage of women, either out of or into Musasi. On the eastern side of Yédo, and facing the Pacific on their eastern coasts, lie the principalities of Awa and Kazusa; their capitals are Oözio and Otagi. Susaki, already mentioned, is the westerly cape of Awa. The principality of Sagami adjoins Musasi, on the south and west, lying around the bay of the same name; Odawara is the capital, and a town of considerable note. Izu lies directly south of Sagami, a very mountainous region, and has Simoda for its chief town. Mount Fusi is situated just beyond the borders of this peninsula in Suruga, but a range of lofty mountains extends its whole length. The islands, extending from the bay of Yédo down to Fachisio, are dependencies of this province. West of Izu, across a bay similar to Sagami, lie the principalities of Toötomi, and Suruga, both ruled by powerful princes. The power of a prince is usually estimated by his revenue, which is reckoned by *man* or myriads of *koko* of rice; each *koko* being equal to 250 catties. Thus, the revenue of the seogun or secular emperor, which is derived from five provinces appropriated to him, is said to amount to 148 *man* and 1200 *koko*, equal to 370,309,000 catties, or 246,866 tons of rice.

Aug. 9th. We left the bay of Yédo on the 31st of July with a fresh breeze, which carried us past Toba the next day; and, finding it impossible to make it without beating, we stood on for Sionomisaki (or Point Sud de Nipon) in the principality of Kinokuni. But here also the wind headed us off, and we concluded to make the bay of Kagosima, in the principality of Satzuma, where the Portuguese first landed, and where Francis Xavier began his labors. After passing Sionomisaki, the wind died away with occasional breezes, and the strong opposing current carried us back, sometimes at the rate of seventy miles a day, and it was not till the 8th inst., that we made cape Cochrane, in the island of Kiusiu. While passing along the coast, several species of sea-fowl came around the ship, though in limited numbers; many shoals of fish were seen, and pumice and seaweed drifted past; some specimens of the latter were remarkable for the delicacy and elegance of their forms. In sailing near the shores of Fiuga, we were delighted with the ever-changing scenery, some parts of which presented subjects worthy the pencil of a painter. The hills, in some places come down to the beach in abrupt cliffs, with deep ravines intersecting their acclivities; while elsewhere, the shore is sandy, and the land gradually ascends to a moderate elevation, interspersed with low hills. Numerous bays and inlets multiply the headlands, and give a peculiar undulatory character to the outline of the coast. On some of the higher hills, masses of clouds

rested, that attracted notice by their resemblance to immense snow-banks piled one upon another, appearing as if just ready to fall. There were few villages seen, and, except near cape Cochrane, the number of boats and junks was much less than near Yédo. One or two of them came near, as if to take a closer view of the ship, but although repeatedly requested they would not come aboard; they said they belonged to Satzuma. Between capes D'Anville and Cochrane, where we met these vessels, there are a few villages near the beach; but, farther south, the coast is remarkably destitute of either habitations or traces of cultivation; nor were there any boats. Cape Negaeff is a headland conspicuous for its bold projection into the sea, along a coast, which, like that of Scotland, is remarkable for its cliffs and promontories. As the evening closed in, the straits of Van Diemen, between Kiusiu and Tanega-sima, opened upon us, and in the distance were seen some of the other islands, forming part of the group that lies between Satzuma and Lewchew.

- August 10th. This morning, we found ourselves around Sionomisaki (cape Tschitschagoff), and the bay of Kagosima, with its beautiful scenery, just illuminated by the rising sun, lying full before us. On the right, at the distance of half a mile, lay the shores of Oözumi, stretching off nearly due north, as far as the eye could see, in a bold, well-wooded bank, with but few interruptions. About three miles from Sionomisaki, the bank takes a short sweep inland, forming a little bay with a shingle beach, where is situated the village of Sataura. Beyond this the hills rise by a gradual inclination, to almost mountain ridges, and the view of their sides, ascending one above another, all of them covered with verdure, and many with fields of grain, was among the finest we had hitherto seen. Between the hills are a few plateaux of table land, which appeared to be under the highest cultivation; one in particular, with the surrounding hills terraced to their tops, looked like a large garden. The rocky cliffs near the cape are covered with pines, some of which, one might imagine, grew merely in order to make all parts of the landscape green, so thin was the soil on the rocks. Directly north of the entrance, at the distance of twenty miles, is the high island of Sakura, just opposite to which, on the northwestern side, is Kagosima, the capital of the principality. The western side of the bay was too far distant for us to discern its features, except that of the regular cone of Kaimou-daki (or Peak Horner) near the seashore, which rises to a height of 1200 or 2000 feet above the surrounding country.

As soon as we entered the bay, Siauzau and Giusabaru were put ashore, where a few fishing boats were seen, in one of which they pulled up to the village of Sataura. On arriving there, they found the people in great commotion at our unexpected appearance, and the officers making preparations for a defense, which were suspended on the approach of our scouts, whose foreign dress had attracted attention before they landed. They were surrounded with eager inquirers, seeking to know the cause of our coming, and, after partially satisfying the curiosity of their countrymen, they procured an officer,

and returned to the ship, accompanied by two or three crowded boats. This officer was a pleasant looking man, dressed in a long cotton robe of blue and white plaid, secured at the waist with a large girdle, in which were stuck two swords, and from which hung a tobacco pouch and pipe. Some of his attendants were dressed in a similar manner, except the two swords, but the majority were nearly naked. He made inquiries additional to those he had already asked of the men, stating that they had been thrown into such alarm by our sudden appearance on the coast, that they were making preparations to fire upon the ship, supposing her to be a pirate. Our explanations, and the assertions of his countrymen, regarding our peaceful designs, removed his fears, and he entered into our plans with much interest, received the papers we had prepared for the prince of Satzuma, which, he said, must be delivered to another officer on shore, who would forward them to Kagosima, and promised that he would immediately hand them to his superiors. Intelligence of the arrival of a foreign ship had already gone to the seat of government. After looking around a few moments, he left in the gig, together with Iwakitchi and Siazau, directing two or three of his men to stay and act as pilots. Before leaving, he requested us not to proceed farther up the bay, alleging that there were dangerous rocks a short distance above, and promised to return soon with a pilot, who would guide us to a place of safety.

The pilots left on board by the officer had very easy duty to perform, inasmuch as they were ordered not to permit us to proceed, and it was out of the question to anchor in an open roadstead, where the soundings were from twenty to twenty-five fathoms. They were poor ignorant men, but yet had a share of local information, and appeared to take an interest in whatever was novel and curious around them. They said that the principality of Oösumi on the eastern side of the bay was a dependency of Satzuma, and a thinly settled, mountainous, country, at present suffering, in many parts, from a failure of crops and a subsequent want of food; and that the distress was so great that the people ate the alburnum trees. They received a few printed handkerchiefs and some other trifling articles with pleasure, but neither they nor any of our visitors would part with the least thing; nor did any of them ask for what they saw, except salt-beef and biscuit, which they munched with a great relish. Finding that there was no use for their services, the pilots left us about noon. During the afternoon, a boat, bringing a large tub of water, came alongside, sent by the officer from Sataura, but by reason of the progress of the ship, and the heavy sea, she could not hold lashings, and having cast off, fell to leeward and returned. In conversation with the officer in the morning, we gave prominence to our want of water and fresh provisions, and he promised to supply us with water immediately, which, much, to his credit, he fulfilled. It was consequently rather annoying that it could not have been received as soon as it came, and that thus his attentions should be seemingly repelled. As at Uragawa, the natives came off in boatloads to see the ship, bring-

ing nothing to sell, and most of them departing as soon as their curiosity was gratified. Among them several were noticed on whom the operation of the acupuncture or pricking with a needle had been performed. The needle had been thrust in between the shoulders, or into the lumbar region, but mostly into the belly, seven or eight times in each place; and some persons there were, both at Uragawa and Satzuma, whose bodies were scarred in many places. The greater part of those who visited the ship were pitted with the small-pox, some of them deeply; and our men agreed in their accounts of its extensive prevalence and sometimes its great mortality.

Their appearance and dress, generally speaking, was superior to those at the former place, but, owing probably to the distance and high sea, there were not many visitors from Satura. The same things attracted attention in both places; the number and height of the masts, and the pigs and geese: but in the exhibition of an intelligent curiosity, they were inferior to the Lewchewans.

Their garments for the most part were of cotton, and on many the coat of arms of the individual was worked into the cloth. The blazonry is a white circle about an inch in diameter, within which is the device. The ignoble vulgus are content to have their family coat of arms worked in the seam on the back, between the shoulders; but the officers bear their heraldry upon the seam of the dress in five places; on the back between the shoulders, inside each elbow, and on each breast. This insignia was more common among those at Satzuma than those at Yédo. Their boats were in most respects like those seen in the bay of Yédo; some were larger, being over thirty feet long, and carrying amidships a tub, containing nearly two hogsheads, for the purpose of preserving fish alive. They were built of soft pine; the moveable mast and paddle-like sculls were like those before seen. A rude caboose made of large pieces of pumice was near the stern, around which were lying some coarse earthen pots; the anchor was a water-worn block of greenstone, secured by a rope of straw.

About two o'clock, Iwakitchi and Siazau returned, in company with three officers, all wearing two swords, but no otherwise distinguished from their attendants. One of them, an old man with gray hair and beard, was so ill from the motion of the boat, that he could not come on board, but lay stretched out in the bottom of the boat, quite overcome. The officers brought back our dispatches unopened, saying, that their superior on shore had declined taking them himself, but having sent a full statement to Kagosima, a high officer would probably come from thence and receive them, together with the men. In the meantime the pilot, whom they had brought, had been directed to bring the ship to a safe anchorage on the western side of the bay, where we must wait three days for an answer from court. A number of boats were also promised to come next day and tow the ship farther up the bay, into a still more secure harbor; and promises were held out to us of an ample supply of provisions.

The swords, by which their rank is distinguished, were a great incumbrance to these officers. One of them was full three feet in

length, rather coarsely made; the other was a shorter weapon, resembling a hanger; but in both instances, the blade is thicker and narrower than is usual among the weapons worn by Europeans. There was only a small button between the blade and the handle, which, in a conflict would afford very little protection to the hand; the handle was bound with narrow strips of cloth or leather, and the scabbard, in some instances, was defended from moisture in a similar manner. They were worn without a belt, being simply thrust through the large girdle; and, as in walking, the motion of the body causes them to slip down, they are a source of constant annoyance to the wearer. The small one is stuck into the belt horizontally; the long one hangs down, and whenever the owner sits, it is taken out and carefully laid by his side. In our ignorance of their etiquette, we took one up to examine it; the blade was rusty and destitute of all ornament, but very sharp, as if kept in readiness for any emergency. As soon as the officer saw us examining his weapon, he started and took it from us; and our men said that it was an offense almost amounting to an insult to touch the sword of another. When he returned to the boat, we observed that he gave the long sword to an attendant, who carefully laid it aside; and in several instances we noticed their sensitiveness concerning the inviolability of their weapons. The society where arms are constantly worn has been by some represented, as one where every member is cautious in his actions, and careful not to inroach upon the rights of another; but this doubtful advantage must be greatly over-balanced by the suspicion, and mutual distrust among different classes, by the aggressions of the strong on the weak, and by numberless wrongs that always exist, and to all of which the temptation of having arms already at hand must, in the nature of man, powerfully contribute. The Japanese, no doubt, owe much of their reputed warlike spirit to their familiarity with arms; yet in them, this does not appear to be a noble, generous, sentiment, that exercises itself in redressing wrongs, but from what we can learn is rather a brutal, punctilious, disposition, that deadens all the finer feelings of the heart, and steepes all the laws in cruelty and blood. But, whatever may be the effect of the code of honor upon the social system of the Japanese, one would recommend placing the seat of so sensitive a faculty in a less exposed position than at the end of an unmanageable sword three feet long.

After giving a few directions to the pilot, the officers left us, and we stood over to the western side of the bay. This poor man, thus suddenly brought into contact with foreigners, was in a most unpleasant situation; for he could not command the vessel, and the anchorage to which he was in a manner compelled to bring her was an open roadstead, exposed to the wind and swell from the sea, and affording little or no protection. He endeavored to excite our fears by telling of rocks and shoals scattered here and there, although no indications of such dangers were visible, and the lead reported a depth of fifteen to twenty fathoms; and when he saw us going in the direction of the danger, he would change its position. At last, when he had nearly

reached the proposed anchorage, he declared that there were no dangers before reaching Miabama; but the poor man was so bewildered, that apparently he did not know whereabouts he was, nor what he said. An officer of the ship was sent to examine the soundings, who reported a safe berth, and we anchored in six fathoms, about three fourths of a mile from the shore. As soon as the anchor was down, the pilot hurried away; and, shortly after, a small boat came alongside, forming part of the guard appointed to watch us. It contained a single officer, who came aboard; and, without vouchsafing a single reply to Mr. Gutzlaff's interrogatories, paraded round the deck, as if to inspect his charge, amusing us all with an exhibition of the inimitable self-sufficiency of an officer of the Japanese empire appointed to guard a foreign vessel; he then took his leave, being the last native of Japan who boarded the ship. As the evening closed in, the village of Chugamitsu opposite us was lighted up, and numerous fishing boats just outside of the bay also displayed large fires.

On questioning the men who were sent ashore in the morning concerning the reception they met from the magistrates, Iwakitchi said, they were received with great kindness, both by the officers and people. At his first visit, Siauzau carried the manifest of his junk, which he had fortunately preserved, and which he said corroborated his story. They gave their deposition before the magistrate at Sataura, in presence of the assembled villagers; and the particulars were all taken down in writing; as the names, ages, and residences of the seven men, the time when each junk left Japan, a few items of their adventures, and the treatment they had experienced among foreigners. Their statements of the peaceable character of the ship were corroborated by the officers who first came on board; and, when the deposition was sealed up for the purpose of being forwarded to Kagosima, the chief magistrate exclaimed, truly, these benevolent foreigners must be something more than human. Although he declined forwarding our papers, yet he expressed no doubt of the favorable reception of the mission, and that the men would soon be on their way home. Remark- ing upon the distress that existed for want of food, he asked them why they had returned to Japan, if they got rice enough in China; and when the officer who came on board mentioned the dearth, he was told that foreigners would bring them all the rice they wished, if the government would only permit it. The surrounding villagers listened with breathless attention to their narrative, and united with the officers in talking 'sweet words' to them. Iwakitchi was so sure of their acceptance, that, on returning to the ship, he wished to engage one of the boats about the ship to take him to the capital. His view also extended farther, and he proposed going to Yédo, after he had seen his friends, and endeavoring to bring 'those brutal officers' at Uragawa to justice, for their atrocious attack. Siauzau was also highly elated at the prospect of returning home to his wife and friends; but none were so sanguine as Iwakitchi, he could hardly contain himself.

Aug. 11th. At sunrise the ensign was hoisted, and one of the guard-boats came to see what was the occasion of hoisting the flag. We told

the officer, who was the same man that strutted over the deck the previous evening, that it was customary in a foreign port to hoist the national colors. He replied, that having never before seen a foreign vessel, he was ignorant of our practices. We reminded him and his companions of their promise to send us water and other refreshments, and also boats to tow the ship into a safer anchorage, which we desired might be done speedily, as the weather was unpromising, and the ship might be driven ashore should a storm arise. They said some water should be immediately sent; but added, that for the boats we must wait the arrival of the high officer from Kagosima. This was rather a different story from what was told us yesterday, though, when we considered the grade of this officer it was doubtful if he could do otherwise than refer the matter to the pleasure of his superior. Soon after he left, a boat came with a tub of water, but none of its crew came on board, having probably been interdicted by the magistrates from all intercourse.

After hearing that no boats were likely to come and tow the ship, captain Ingersoll prepared two more anchors in readiness to let go should the wind increase, and took all proper precautions against dragging. There being no intercourse with the people, we had leisure to examine the adjacent country. The landscape is very green, being like that around the bay of Yédo, in the neighborhood of high mountains, which condense the vapor. The form of the shore is similar to the other anchorage, forming a gentle sweep, terminated at each extremity by a rocky hill, covered with pines. Near the one at the southern point our guard is stationed, perfectly defended from the wind and swell by the bank. But, except in the curvature of the shore, there is no resemblance between this and the anchorage at Uragawa. Here the bank is so steep that, from one hill to the other, a distance of two or three miles, there is only one place where a horse can ascend; in some places it is upwards of fifty feet high, formed of stiff clay with ledges of rock cropping out at intervals. From the bank, the land, generally speaking, rises gradually to a moderate elevation, diversified with many hills and trees, and apparently is exceedingly well cultivated. The system of terracing is carried out even more than at Uragawa, and much higher than any of us had seen it in China, extending to the tops of hills, whose acclivities resembled a flight of stairs. The most conspicuous object here, as everywhere in the bay, is Kaimou-daki, whose sides are covered with a thick growth of pines, and whose top is seldom destitute of a cap of clouds. No rival eminences are near, and its solitariness appears to add to its beauty; in regularity of form Kaimou-daki might almost be cited as a type of the genus *Mons*. A range of mountains is visible to the northward, which forms part of the chain that runs through the island. One of its most remarkable peaks is Mount Udziu, famous for its burning sulphureous springs, and the tortures inflicted there on the adherents of Catholicism in times of persecution. Kumataru, whose native place, Simabara, is only three miles from it, says, the region around is thinly inhabited, and that many of the springs are hot

and poisonous, while others are tepid, and useful in cutaneous diseases; and he corroborates Kæmpfer, who describes the baths as erected for the accommodation of invalids. He says that snow remains on its summit during the whole year.

The country beyond the hill, at the upper end of the curve, as far as we can discern, is well cultivated. Just off this hill, that so provokingly bounds our prospect, lies a sharp conical rock, about forty feet high, with an arched hole in its base, sufficiently large to admit the gig. The hill at the opposite extremity is flanked seaward by a ledge of red rocks, in which, and in the base of the hill, the waves have worn many holes. Near the only place for ascending the bank, which is a gully, about three fourths of a mile beyond this hill, is a grave-yard, the gray colored stones being placed upright, and standing in rows after the manner of western countries, and totally unlike the horse-shoe cemeteries at Napa keäng. The place is not inclosed, but the numerous large trees, around and among the graves, give a pleasing and retired appearance to the spot, consonant with its purpose. About a quarter of a mile beyond the grave-yard lies the village of Chugamitsu, looking as if it had been let down into a niche in the shore prepared for its reception; for the tops of the houses are not as high as the banks on either side, and the dark shade of the trees behind the many white dwellings throw them into relief. Most of the buildings are white, and the village has a neat and compact appearance; and the inhabitants have made several ghauts down to the beach, for convenience in ascending and descending. The rows of trees which cross the country in various directions, protecting and designating the roads, is a singular feature in the scenery; but viewing the landscape as a whole, although beautiful in many parts, the shores around the bay of Kagosima are inferior in grandeur and sublimity to those near Yédo.

As no one came near us after the watering boat left, about one o'clock a blue flag was hoisted, but it proved unavailing to induce any one to visit us. After dinner an officer was sent in the gig, Kiukitchi accompanying him, to sound near the shore. This movement immediately caused a stirring among our overseers, and they dispatched a boat to order the gig to return, while a second came to the ship. The latter contained three officers, who, as the boat ranged alongside, standing up, in a pleasant manner, asked why the gig had left the ship. We told them, that, as the weather looked threatening, it was very desirable to know how much water there was around the ship, and we had sent the boat to sound. Remarking that they stood up in the boat with great inconvenience, we invited them on deck, but they declined, saying they were prohibited coming on board, much against their inclination. On being asked when the officer from Kagosima would arrive, and the provisions and boats be sent as had been promised, they replied, that he had not yet come, but would probably soon make his appearance; adding, however, that it was not likely that the men would be received. This remark surprised us all, and the Japanese immediately spoke out, inquiring the reason for this opinion; but the

officers became suddenly rather dogged, and evaded a reply, by observing that they knew nothing of the reasons of their superiors, being only persons appointed to watch us. We told them, our purpose in coming into the bay was simply to restore a few shipwrecked men, and that, if the prince of Satzuma did not wish to receive them, the officer deputed from him need only come on board, explain his message, and we would forthwith depart.

The officers, in this their last visit, were not as friendly as on previous occasions, though they endeavored to put on a good face. The trouble of watching us day and night, and the irksomeness of remaining hour after hour in an open boat, exposed to frequent squalls, may have soured their tempers; though, like Japanese officers, who consider all such circumstances as merely incidental, they never alluded to it. Their regards personally toward us were favorable; but, however much they might wish us success, they considered themselves as mere subalterns, who could only execute the orders of those above them. Their attendants were much more decently clad than in former visits; many of them were large muscular men, but the cast and expression of their countenances generally were not prepossessing, perhaps on account of the smallness and obliquity of the eyes, depriving the face of all animation. Among the parties who from time to time came, there were several lads, who appeared to take great pleasure in looking at the novelties around them. The officers were noways distinguishable from their attendants by superior carriage or more intellectual countenances, and, if deprived of their swords, would not have been remarked. Soon after they left us, the gig returned, and the officer reported that the bay was nearly of an uniform depth, having five fathoms within a few rods of the shore, and the beach formed of fine sand, the debris of the cliffs. The evening soon after closed in with a threatening aspect, and squalls of wind and rain were frequent during the night.

August 12th. The weather this morning was raw and rainy, but Iwakitchi was on the look-out to see if there were any indications of the arrival of an officer during the night. At six o'clock, a small boat, containing three persons, approached the ship, until they placed it between themselves and the guard, when they hailed us. They said they were going a fishing, and came alongside to see the ship, as all intercourse was prohibited by the magistrates. Iwakitchi, on asking them whether the officer had come from Kagosima, was answered that none had come, so far as they knew, but that they had heard a rumor of the expulsion of the ship, and the refusal of the government to receive the men. The grounds of this rumor they would not give, or perhaps did not know, yet remarked that it was well authenticated, and one added, 'it is my opinion that, perhaps, you had better weigh anchor and make sail.' They remained half an hour talking with the men, making many observations which gave us a better idea of the state of affairs than we had yet received, and of the feelings entertained towards us by the people, all of whom were much alarmed at the approach of the ship, but, as soon as her errand was known,

every one wished us well. They repeated, that the rumor of our expulsion was a credible one, and said, as they were leaving, that they were going out of the bay to fish, and when they returned would bring us a few. But, instead of going out, they went around the bows of the ship, and paddled in shore, all the while bobbing a fish line in the bows of the boat, as if to make the impression that they had just come in from seaward. Whatever may have been the design of these people, in thus covertly coming off to the ship, they took much trouble, as the weather was very unpleasant, and the sea very rough for their little shallop; yet their declarations, although probable enough, were given in such a hesitating, uncertain, manner, that we were doubtful what to do.

Soon after their departure, a broad stripe of blue and white cloth was seen stretched several rods, across the trees, near Chugamitsu, looking like a fence, and bearing in it the blazonry of the prince of Satzuma. The inhabitants were seen running backwards and forwards between the cloth and the village, and along the beach, as if some terrible event was about to happen. We were wondering what this might betoken when Iwakitchi came with a rueful visage, saying that the stripes of cloth indicated warlike operations, and that in all probability a messenger had arrived from Kagosima with orders to expel us by force. He said, the stripes of cloth were for defending the soldiers, being composed of four or five or more pieces of heavy canvass, stretched one behind another, at short intervals. The vibratory motion of these pieces of loose cloth, would no doubt weaken the force of a cannon shot, and almost stop a swivel ball, however ludicrously the idea of a cloth battery might at first strike any one. After the villagers had been sometime assembled around this extemporaneous fortification, we saw them leave it simultaneously, as if an order had been promulged; and the major part, being on foot, ran by different paths along the beach and hill-side, towards the grave-yard on the other side of the village. If we had not been too deeply interested in their movements to notice the comical, the appearance of so large a crowd running along a beach, where the white bank, fifty or sixty feet high threw the whole into a bold relief, and the distance diminished them two thirds, would have been inexpressibly ludicrous: the flying multitude brought to mind the pigmies of Herodotus going out to battle against the cranes. On arriving at the grave-yard, another cloth fort was soon stretched, bearing the same coat of arms, behind which we saw many small banners fluttering, and people assembled, among whom several persons dressed in white robes, and others galloping about on horseback, were distinguishable.

Not knowing what might be the end of all these doings, we concluded it the safest way to make preparations to leave; and began to heave in the cable, of which there were seventy-five fathoms out, and hoist the yards without unfurling the sails; the colors were also shown; but no one answered the signal. These precautions were necessary, for the last position chosen by the party perfectly commanded the ship, and if it was their intention to expel us, and guns as large as

those employed at Uragawa should be brought to bear upon us, our situation would be dangerous. Soon after the colors were shown, a boat left the shore, which was hailed, but it stood across the bay towards Sataura, without giving the least heed to our signals. Immediately following its departure, the party behind the canvas opened a fire upon us, with musquetry and cannon, the shot from the latter falling about half-way to the ship. The people on shore were so long making preparations, that we had almost concluded the commotion had some other object than our expulsion; but the first discharge, decided the rejection of our proposal, indicated the continued hostility of the Japanese government against foreign intercourse, and drove their poor shipwrecked countrymen into a second banishment. We consequently made sail as fast as possible, although there was no wind, and, by reason of the flood tide, we would be in danger of drifting against the perforated rock at the upper end of the curve, as soon as the anchor was tripped. It was very evident that the brave troops on shore, who mustered several hundred men, knew our defenceless state; for not only were they much exposed, but the people were collected in groups on the contiguous knolls, allowing them just enough room for using their guns; a discharge of grape from the ship would probably have killed many tens, and the splinters from the grave-stones have wounded many more.

By carrying out a kedge astern to wear the ship, and sending two boats to pull at the bows, we were fortunately enabled to clear the rock, which at one time threatened to do us more damage than the guns; and, in passing, a meed of praise ought to be given to captain Ingersoll, for the manner in which he extricated the Morrison out of this unpleasant predicament. The calm continuing for a couple of hours, we slowly drifted up the bay seven or eight miles, not pursued by any gun boats as at Yédo, and enjoying a view of the town of Miabama, with its neat white houses, and of the well cultivated country around it. Into a small inlet, which lies below the town, a river empties that comes from among the hills, and on whose banks is the large town of Yamagawa. The shores of the bay here disclosed new beauties: on the eastern side, the hills approached close to the water in bold wooded cliffs, partially cultivated, but most of them untouched by the hand of the husbandman; on the other side, a gentle ascent from the beach presented an extensive landscape diversified by cultivated ravines, woods, and bleak hills. Miabama is situated at the foot of a steep hill, and, judging from its size, is a town of medium importance. From what we could see, while in the upper part of the bay, the country is too inviting and too picturesque to leave without a sigh of regret, that a land so adorned by the hand of nature should be inhabited by such misanthropists. Occasional squalls from seaward enabled us to stand out of the bay, and by three o'clock we reached Sataura, where we were saluted by two or three large guns, whose shot fell far short. Coming down still farther, we approached our late anchorage, and saw the brave gunners still firing, whenever the frequent squalls permitted; and also discovered, that four cannon on carriages had

been transported around the hill, and stationed on the level base towards the sea, from whence the soldiers fired as we drew near. Thus the loyal subjects of the prince of Satzuma left no means untried to execute his orders, and do to us all the injury in their power. And, having escaped the malice of the government, both in this part and at Uragawa, it would be placing constraint on our own feelings, and would mark the utmost ingratitude, if we were to omit to express our unfeigned thanks to the merciful Being, who shielded us from their malicious attacks, and preserved us from the dangers of the unknown waters on their coast.

Our next course was now an important subject of consideration. Although much more had been done than at Yédo, yet that full communication with the government which had been proposed at the outset of the expedition was not yet attained. But how should it be attained? If we sailed eastward, and appeared in the harbors on the southern coast, we could not expect a favorable reception from officers, who had probably heard of our reiterated expulsion; and to the westward, Nagasaki alone remained. If we went to that port, we should probably so far attain our object as to be boarded by an officer, who would inquire our errand, and receive our papers; and thus the government would be informed of our object in visiting their harbors. To give them this information, and to justify ourselves somewhat in their eyes, (if such an apology was necessary,) were the principal reasons for appearing again in their ports; for all hope of returning the men, or of opening intercourse with them, was abandoned. The treatment of those men whom Krusenstern brought back was not very encouraging to the hopes of our poor men; for those were kept closely confined during the six months the Russian embassy remained in Nagasaki, and received by the Japanese just at their departure. These reasons in favor of our making a third essay to overcome the hostility of government were, however, somewhat nullified by several considerations. From what could be gathered from the men who went ashore, a very full account of the object, the nation, and the character, of the ship had been given to the magistrates; and, although Iwakitchi and his companions were only partially acquainted with our plans, yet their story embraced the leading features of the expedition. The officers of course would report this deposition to their superiors, and the rumor of the ship coming into the bay would give it a wide notoriety. By this means, a greater publicity among the people would be obtained, than by delivering a packet of papers at many ports. But when the men, whose hopes of again seeing their friends were so cruelly blasted, considered their examination in its several bearings, the little likelihood of being received at another port, or of being able to steal into the country on the coast, were apparent. Their families would no doubt hear of them in various ways, and this information would intimate their safety to those who doubtless looked upon their long lost friends as swallowed up in the ocean. Siauzaou had handed a letter for his father to a person at Sataura, which he was promised should be forwarded. But the full account they had given

of themselves was fatal to their hope of being able to appear among their friends without subjecting themselves to immediate recognition, and examination, and perhaps ultimate punishment. If the government did not receive them, no one else could with safety. The same objection lay against endeavoring to reach the shore by means of a junk, or by landing on an island, and being taken off by passing vessels, or by trusting themselves to a raft, and gaining an uninhabited part of the coast; in their fulness of confidence they appeared to have completely shut the door of return against themselves. This was their own view of the case; and, from what we already knew of the conduct of the Chinese government, in similar cases, was not an improbable view. They said, moreover, that they would not trust themselves into the hands of the governor at Nagasaki, whatever promises of safety he might make to them; but their opinion was, that he would not dare, after hearing of the present expulsion, to receive them. Moreover, we did not wish by going to Nagasaki to excite the fears of the Dutch, who have always shown a great desire to exclude all other foreigners from sharing the trade they enjoy. All these reasons decided us to return to Macao, and to commit the results of what had been done to open the door of Japanese seclusion into the hands of the allwise Governor of nations.

In summing up the circumstances attendant upon both our attempts, and comparing them with what we could learn of previous trials, it was instructive to observe, how gradually the Japanese government has gone on in perfecting its system of seclusion, and how the mere lapse of time has indurated, instead of disintegrating, the wall of prejudice and misanthropy which surrounds their policy. These circumstances also indicated their present feelings, for we could refer the greater part of what had happened alone to the government. When we approached the bay of Yédo, immediate intimation was given to the officers, and we were fired upon when the report of the guns was just audible, and the thick mist entirely hid us from view. This treatment any vessel in a starving condition would probably receive, and it is important to inquire what causes have been operating to produce it, and how far foreigners themselves may have increased it. It would not be amiss to make investigations, at the proper sources, into the conduct of the whalers that frequent the eastern coasts of Nipou and Yesso, to learn whether in their dealings with the people and the vessels which they have met, there has not recently been conduct, unworthy of Christians, which will not bear being brought to light. Captain Gordon of Calcutta, in 1817, was boarded by an officer when he anchored, and his request to trade was sent up to Yédo; and although it was rejected, yet he received kind treatment compared with us, being loaded with provisions before his dismissal. A people, who show the decision of character of the Japanese, silently erecting their batteries to drive away their enemies by force of arms, and bringing their cannon several miles to plant in a favorable position, are not to be lightly despised, or insulted with impunity. If the immediate aggressor escapes, vengeance usually lights

upon some unwary and innocent straggler, and the mutual hatred is thus increased. At Satzuma, a pilot is sent to bring the ship into an anchorage, and the officers are made acquainted with our object, which they apparently approve. It would seem, that here, too, great distrust of foreigners existed, from the report that the people took us for a pirate; and a rumor of such marauders in these regions must have reached their ears. The men repeatedly told the officers, that they need only tell us to depart, and we would go; but that before dismissing us we requested to be supplied with fresh provisions. Yet a hundred or more men are commissioned to drive out a defenseless vessel with cannon and musquetry; and commence their attack too, at a time when we should be in great jeopardy as soon as the anchor was off the ground. What course of conduct would have been pursued by the Japanese, if ours had been an armed vessel, it is impossible to say; but I am more than ever rejoiced, now the experiment has been made, that no cannon were carried. However, towards a people who thus manifest decision of counsels and reliance upon their own resources, although exerted in a barbarous and savage manner, and on an occasion when kindness was meant, a degree of respect and deference is paid. The believer in the promises of God's word looks forward to the time, when the same energetic qualities of mind, changed and enlightened by education, shall be directed to better and nobler objects. Although cruel and prejudiced, they manifest a character, which can be moulded, by God's grace, into something more efficient, than that of their vacillating and edict-making neighbors, the Chinese and Coreans. Whatever purposes of mercy or of judgment may be towards this people in the counsels of their high Governor, it is not for us to inquire, but we hope that the day of their admittance into the family of nations is not far distant; when the preacher of peace and truth shall be allowed access to their hamlets and towns, when the arts of western lands shall be known, and commerce, knowledge, and Christianity, with their multiplied blessings, shall have full scope. Then will that ancient saying, *Lux ex oriente*, have its accomplishment; and the land of the Rising Sun will be the one to begin to shed the beams of civilization over the earth. But before this can be done, those who now enjoy these inestimable privileges have a great work to do; and who shall begin?

Let us look at this people a little longer. For more than two-hundred years have they been separated from their fellowmen, and when the tie was severed, at the expulsion of Catholicism and the Portuguese, it was done under great excitement, and in the flush of victory over those whom they supposed were undermining their liberties. What were the grounds for the allegations against the Jesuits, we will not stop to inquire; but the feeling manifested by the Japanese, when they challenged even the God of the Christians to touch their shores at his peril, shows how confident they then were of their own power and resources, and how determined to exclude foreigners. And they have excluded them; and, since that time, the only representatives of all Christendom whom they have seen, have been a few individuals at

Desima, whose own historians give ample evidence that gain has always been their chief object. The Japanese, from what they know and have heard of European nations—of their wars, their deadly battles, their opposing interests, and their great power, must congratulate themselves on their seclusion from such contests. Not that they have enjoyed peace within their own borders, since they have built their wall of separation, but that, by repairing the breaches which interest and ignorance have from time to time made in it, they have not subjected themselves to the visits of fleets and armies. And if such are their feelings and ideas regarding us, can it be wondered at, that they look upon all foreign intercourse as a thing to be deprecated, and opposed in all possible ways? What might at first have been conjecture or slander regarding other countries, has probably now become, by repetition and the authority of books, received truth; at least, it is always the course of error to strengthen by time. One of our men says, he was taught, that in some western countries the men were covered with hair and lived upon trees. And in a Japanese work, we have seen representations of people, with arms so long, that the owner of one pair is engaged in fishing with them, and has mercilessly clutched a carp in his hands; and of others, whose legs enable the man elevated on them to pluck the fruit from palm trees; and in another place are two tribes of men drawn, one of which is so small, and the other so large, that the latter is figured as carefully holding one of the little men in the palm of his hand; Gulliver's heroes in Lilliput and Brobdingnag were proportionate compared to them. And what are all these chimeras but painful illustrations of their ignorance and pride? But before they will lose them, juster and more correct notions must be imbibed. They now regard foreigners as ready to pounce upon their country the moment it should be opened; at least one would draw such a conclusion from Golownin's narrative; and, before they will consent to receive them, they must be assured that those who seek their ports are peaceable friends. They can derive no just ideas of other nations, nor of their enterprise, commerce, and philanthropy, from what they see of foreign trade, cabined and reduced as it is by their laws; and who expects them to come with open arms, and request free intercourse, before they are acquainted with the benefits they would derive from it? Their ideas of Christianity are, every one knows, of the most erroneous sort, considering it as another name for intrigue and lust of power; and a thing to be kept out of the empire at all risks, as one would drive a viper from a nursery of children. Now there is no innate power in the Japanese, more than in other people, to teach and reform themselves; and do we expect that a miracle is to be worked, and that they are suddenly to become enlightened and inquiring? Let us not be weary in well-doing; but let us do all we can to give to the Japanese the knowledge of true Christianity, which seeketh not its own; let us present before them the Bible in their own tongue; and, with this pure river of life we know that civilization, commerce, and knowledge, will flow through their land. Because one attempt has failed, shall all

future endeavors cease? We learn wisdom from experience. The rejection of the men, although painful to them and us, may be the very best thing that could have happened: for, if they had been received, and we quietly dismissed, our means for doing them and their countrymen further good would have been taken out of our hands. In this view of the case, and it appears reasonable, let us not abandon this nation; but by making the best use of the men whom we have, get better prepared to do them permanent good; and "by and bye," if God permits, and as Otokitchi says, "we will try again."

August 13th. Yesterday afternoon, as we were taking leave of Satzuma, we met a junk from Lewchew, just going up the bay. In the evening, we left our valiant foes firing, until darkness hid them from our sight; during the night we made but little progress, and this morning Kaimou-daki is in full view. The islands which lie off Kiusiu engaged our attention as we passed them during the day. Tanega-sima contains several towns, and carries on a trade in fruit and timber; its northern end is twenty-five miles from Siono-misaki, in a southeasterly direction; it is twenty miles long and about eight broad, and appears well cultivated. Yakuno-sima, which lies fifteen miles west of Tanega-sima, and forty due south from Kaimou-daki, contains between fifty and sixty square miles, and is famous for the variety of fine timber which it produces. During the night, being between these two islands, we experienced a current setting us towards Tanega-sima, and as it was calm, we were drifted within a mile of the low shore, where a line of fifty fathoms gave no bottom; but a breeze springing up, we stood away to the northwest in order to get into the Yellow sea.

The large island of Kiusiu, which we are now leaving, is the southwesternmost of the three forming the empire of Japan. It is of an oblong shape, lying nearly north and south, averaging eighty miles across, and 180 miles long. Its northern point is in latitude $34^{\circ} 06'$ north, and Siono-misaki, the south cape, is in lat. $30^{\circ} 56'$ north; it lies between the meridians of 130° and 132° east. A range of mountains runs from north to south, some of whose summits are active volcanoes, and others, we are told, are covered with snow the whole year. It is divided into nine principalities, of which Figo and Satzuma are the most powerful, holding a high rank among the whole number of provinces in the empire. The prince of Kaga, whose dominions lie on the northwestern side of Nipon, is, according to our men, regarded as the most powerful prince in the empire. Kiusiu is surrounded by islands of various sizes, all dependant on the principalities to whose shores they are contiguous, and some of which contain large towns. Amakusa, off the coast of Figo; the Gotto isles belonging to Fiseu; and Tsusi-sima, between Kiusiu and Corea, are the largest. A coasting trade is carried on between them and the mainland; and also between the various ports on the coast there is frequent communication. Nagasaki, in Fiseu, is ninety miles northwest by north from Kagosima in a direct line, but the route coastwise between the two

places is circuitous, and among numerous islands. The principality of Bungo, which lies on the eastern side of Kiusiu, is famous in the history of the Catholics, as the stronghold of their faith, and whose prince remained their firm friend during his life, in times of great trial.

August 14th. After leaving the still waters between Yakuno and Tanega-sima, we passed by Seriphos Island, a low sand bank just above the surface of the water; Julie I., and Apollos I., both small; and Iwo-sima or Volcano Island. The latter is situated in latitude $30^{\circ} 43'$ north, and longitude $130^{\circ} 16'$ east, and in its size and form resembles Lintin; it is destitute of vegetation, except a few trees on the southern extremity. The volcano emits smoke in rapid puffs, which collects on and hides the summit; on the acclivity, where we saw the smoke issuing, is a fissure, whose sides are apparently covered with sulphur; and the men said, that the prince of Satzuma, to whom these islands belong, derives a large revenue from the sulphur collected there. It was in very gentle, though constant, action; and if circumstances had been favorable, a visit to this epitome of a volcano would have been very gratifying. The extremities of the island are flanked by reefs of rocks; and also to the eastward of St. Clair I. a small cluster of rocks was passed, not marked in the chart, to which we conditionally gave the name of Morrison Rocks. They lie in latitude $30^{\circ} 50'$ north, and longitude $129^{\circ} 04'$ east. Many of the islands, as well as those just cited, are skirted with the same pointed, conical rocks, so numerous along the mainland, which corroborates the well known volcanic character of Japan.

In passing through the Yellow sea, a northerly current was experienced, but it was much milder than that on the southern coast of Nipon. For one or two days the sea was covered with the particolored stripes, before mentioned as occurring east of Kiusiu; and from the shoals of fish, especially Balistes, seen in it, its use as their probable food was better ascertained. The water in this sea was surcharged with fine particles of silt, brought down from the great rivers of China, and which the various currents agitating the water retain in solution. The lead for three or four days gave a depth of from thirty to twenty fathoms as we drew near the coast; and, in the act of sounding, the lead apparently plunged into fine mud several inches above the leather which joined it to the line. On the coast of Fuhkeën two or three fishing boats were boarded, whose stock consisted of but little else than immense quantities of Sepia or cuttle fish, opened and spread out for drying on the decks. A favorable breeze in the Formosan channel carried us down to Amoy, where calms and opposing currents retarded our progress for a few days; and on the evening of the 29th of August, we anchored in Macao Roads.

ART. II. *Trade with China: a letter addressed to the British Public on some of the advantages that would result from an occupation of the Bonin Islands.* By G. TRADESCANT LAY. London, 1837.

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,—The observations I have to make upon the advantages of the occupation of the Bonin Islands will not be characterized either by depth of thought or extent of information; a few plain sentiments, delivered in plain language, will fill the compass of these brief pages. I have often remarked that the successful issue of an enterprize was not due to the recondite nature of its principles or the multiplicity of contrivance, but to the adoption of, and the adherence to, rules that were obvious in theory and easy in practice. And, in the same way, I have seen that conviction is not produced by far-fetched arguments and labored declamation, but by simple statements and familiar proofs.

To establish a communication with eastern China, Japan, Lewchew, and other islands and shores of this sea, on terms of equality and mutual respect, is an event which, at the first glance, appears so full of interest and utility, that no display of eloquence or depth of argument is necessary to enforce it. To find ourselves shut out and hindered from extending to multitudes of the human race the benefits of the gospel and the improvements of science, or even from gratifying a reasonable curiosity, is humiliating, especially when we learn, by experience, that neither knowledge, kindness, nor any other recommendation can procure for us a momentary stay in Canton, except at the pleasure of delegated authority, but are liable to be thrust away forthwith, as if we had the plague or the leprosy, without protection from the laws of hospitality, or time to explain the reason of our coming.

It will be said that some have visited the coast and met with friendly treatment, and that we are allowed to live at Macao with our families if we please; but here at Macao, on a jutting point of land, like prisoners, we are hemmed in, partly with the sea and partly with a barrier, that is guarded, not by soldiers, nor by any thing in uniform, nor even in decent apparel, but, as if on purpose to insult us, by some of the most degraded beings in the empire. The mandarins teach the common people to despise us by every means in their power; these are not slow to profit by their instructions, and at certain periods, by threats, they frighten all the timorous natives from our service, alleging that an intercourse with us infects the purity of the Chinese morals. A few days ago it was declared to be presumption in foreigners to ride in chairs borne by Chinese, without any exception in favor of invalids or delicate females, and it was thought better for men employed in this way to starve than submit to such a degrading employment. As to the visits which have been made to different

parts of the coast, their desultory and flying character shows how much reliance could be placed upon the transient smile of a friendly reception. Nay, in some instances, highly emblazoned with attractive description, if the truth were told, it would appear that even this transient smile owed more to the lure of opium than to the feelings of humanity. However that may be, we know that a frown from a man in authority soon dissipates the semblance of a cordial welcome, and the stranger finds himself alone, while his benefactors are hurried away to do some act of penance for shewing him any favor. It is sometimes contended that the Chinese have a right to lay what restrictions they think proper upon their trade with foreigners, and to drive them from their shores as often as they choose, who, if they do not like these terms, may go elsewhere in quest of better. But the question that demands an answer does not seem to be, what right they have to perplex commercial dealings, which they themselves have encouraged, or to treat us on all public occasions as destitute, unprincipled men;—but, whether it be not advisable to take such steps as may, sooner or later, convince them that their opinion of us is erroneous, however flattering it may be to their pride and vanity to cherish it? The justice of declaring war against them would be questioned by many, and an embassy, unless it were conducted with a degree of firmness and resolution far different from any of its predecessors, would prove, like them, a melancholy failure. A Chinese has only two leading passions, fear and avarice; all the other feelings incidental to our nature are merged in these two dominant motives to action. If Christianity forbids us to use threatening, there is no rule of morals or religion that I am acquainted with, that hinders us from *attempting to pursue a lawful object of commercial dealing upon equitable terms, wherever an independent spot is opened.* This may work upon his principles of self-interest, while his apprehensions would be excited, without drawing a sword or bending a bow. This, I think, would be done with increasing effect and prosperity by a settlement at the Bonin Islands, which, while it would draw adventurers allured by the hopes of a gainful trade from the neighboring shores, would give the English nation such a respectability in the eyes of all around, that contumelious usage and scornful language would soon cease to be applied to us.

The Bonin Islands are about eight days' sail from China, five from Lewchew, and three from Japan; and belong to the English, not only in virtue of a formal possession, but from the circumstance, that Englishmen have resided upon one of them for more than ten years; which gives us a title to them, arising from prior occupation, a title that is esteemed a good one by the law of nations. When I visited one of them, in the expedition of captain Beechey, I found a hilly spot covered from the shore to the ridge of the mountain with vegetation, which abounded in curious and beautiful plants and trees. I never spent four days that afforded more interest or more instruction. I do not wish it to be understood, that I think them fitted to answer all the hopes of a husbandman who had come from the other side of the

globe to better his condition ; for, the settlement I propose is not to be an agricultural, but a commercial colony ; one that would be worth the nursing, not so much for its intrinsic value, as for the place and name that we should thus obtain in the midst of these interesting countries. It is enough, that there is room sufficient for laying out gardens to raise vegetables for the table, and some variety of hill and dale for such walks and pleasure grounds as health and recreation might require. Those who have lived there in lonely seclusion, found the necessaries of life of such easy acquisition, that, when induced to leave from present circumstances, they have afterwards expressed many longings to get back again to their sequestered but easy home. Here, under the management of a spirited and enlightened governor, Englishmen, Americans, and the natives of European nations, might enjoy all the security, and many of the comforts of home, in the very centre of those nations who have hitherto shut their doors against them.

Some of the principal advantages may be summed up, a little more in detail, under the following heads, which will form the substance of this representation.

First. The first class of advantages would result from the vicinity of the Bonin Islands to Lewchew, Japan, China, and Formosa, by which a point of easy access would be afforded to native vessels from all those countries, a circumstance that would tend to promote an unfettered communication among them with foreigners, and of consequence, with each other. This would certainly be the case in a little time, whatever embarrassments they might at first be subjected to, from the authorities of their respective countries, where with few exceptions, every effort to introduce foreign articles is checked and nampere by the ascendancy of local statutes. There would be found among them men of enterprise ; such, for example, as the natives of the Fuhkeën province, who, urged forward by the hope of advantage, would disdain unreasonable and petty restrictions, and repair to a market near at hand, where the greatest choice of foreign articles might be had at the lowest prices. And it is not hard to conceive, that those who come to trade, would in time bring goods instead of money, which would assist the manufacturers at home, and consequently spread the benefits of such traffic to many hundreds besides themselves ; which might induce the magistrates to allow the utmost extent of liberty in their power, or, what is far better, lead the legislature to repeal irksome and abortive laws. For governors, in this part of the world, though they often treat individuals with little ceremony or compassion, are rather fearful of exasperating a whole community, especially when they find them disposed to set up the rights of the subject against the encroachments of a magistrate. It will be said, perhaps, that experiment does not warrant us in expecting much advantage from this trade ; for nothing finds a ready market save opium. But perhaps it would not require much ingenuity to prove, that the sale of opium stands in the way of lawful kinds of traffic, while it abstracts those monies which might otherwise have been

applied to useful purposes in general commerce. Nay, I apprehend that it would not require much aid from the imagination to think, that as opium, when taken as a luxury, destroys every sinew of the body, and enervates the mind, and renders the person using it a fit companion only for the lost of the human race; so, as merchandise, it blasts and withers every kind of dealing that is mixed up with it. I hope it may not have this effect upon the religious books that have sometimes been circulated under its auspices. But we had forgotten our settlement, the fame of which, when once diffused abroad, would allure not only those who looked for gain, but entice others, from motives of curiosity, to come and visit it, who would not fail, on their return, to report among their countrymen what they had seen, and what kind of treatment they had experienced among the sons of freedom, religion, and science. At this place of rendezvous, Chinese, Japanese, Formosans, and Lewchewans would meet and exchange their sentiments, if not by speech at least by writing, which would tend to establish them upon a footing of a better understanding with each other, and diffuse a knowledge of the colloquial dialects, peculiar to each nation, among all the rest; while the prospect of advantage, and the comforts of home, would persuade Europeans to come hither to learn the Asiatic languages, that they might act as interpreters, which would enable us to dispense with that mutilated jargon in which all our mercantile transactions are now conducted.

Secondly. One of these islands would be an eligible spot for establishments of a religious and scientific nature, where strangers might obtain every kind of instruction, and from whence books might be issued for the improvement of surrounding nations. As facilities for learning the eastern languages would be greatly multiplied by this means, so conveniences for printing would be much increased. At Macao we print by sufferance, and, of course, with all the disabilities which such a kind of toleration is likely to entail upon us. The expense of typography would also be greatly diminished; so that, at no great cost, books of instruction might be scattered with an unsparing hand in every direction. Artists would also come and settle amongst us, who would furnish drawings and illustrations for our books of science;—now we are obliged to put up with the rude and inaccurate performance of a Chinese, or dispense altogether with helps so important towards an adequate conception of things not seen. There is another advantage that we may mention here, lest it should be forgotten, which is, the rest of one day in seven, maintained with the decencies and solemnities that belong to the Lord's-day; while the ordinances of religion, and the preaching of the gospel, might be waited upon with the zeal, assiduity, and interest, which make them refreshing to our hearts, and render them lovely in the eyes of mankind.

Thirdly. Merchants now resident in China, would find this an easy retreat, whither they might retire to prosecute their commercial schemes, whenever the governor of Canton should think fit to interrupt the progress of trade. It is pretty evident that the sellers of tea and

silk, if the merchants were stationed only a few days' sail from the coast, with a fair wind both ways, would send the goods after them, if a message with conditions of peace, and a return of the merchants upon their own terms, did not render such a step unnecessary. But I am much mistaken, if, after a settlement had been effected so near China, any attempt to stop or perplex the trade would ever be once thought of; for a son of Han is too discreet a man, especially with all his learned records about him, to try an experiment that must then inevitably terminate in his own confusion. On the contrary, the news of such an event as the colonisation of islands at so short a distance from the celestial empire, would produce such a sensation at the court of Peking, and throughout the country, that we should be received in a way very different from that tone of arrogance with which we are now entertained. The doctrines of submission, which, like the venerated relics of antiquity, have been handed down from one generation of merchants to another, have emboldened a Chinese to treat us with insult, and to make sport at our vexation; but when he saw forts, batteries, and men-of-war so near his own threshold, he would at once think that we had lately embraced a new set of tenets, and shape his conduct accordingly.

Fourthly. But while we should thus show ourselves able to maintain our own cause, our principles and our practices would have nothing warlike about them. On the contrary, this spot might, under the blessing of the Almighty, be the focus from whence the influences of religion, science, and the sentiments of political freedom, would emanate in an over-flowing tide. Millions would soon hear, and many thousands see, how men fare when they live under the benign aspect of impartial laws, and religious liberty; compare matters at home with what they were found to be abroad, and thence be led to ask the reason of the difference. Those who labor among the heathen in word and doctrine know the value of such inquiries; and it is pleasing to learn, from observation, that strangers cannot long converse with Christians, on amicable terms, without gaining some relish for freedom, or some impression in favor of religion. Thus the great object, in behalf of which so many prayers are now offered up to the Throne of Mercy, would be advanced, namely, the evangelization of this mighty portion of the human family.

Fifthly. A depository would be provided for such stores as are necessary for the repair and refit of ships coming either from the east or the west, and a place where they might lay up the indisposable part of their cargo till the arrival of fairer opportunities, and thus be enabled to prosecute the rest of their voyage with as little delay as possible. No arguments will be required to convince shipowners that it is highly desirable to have a port near at hand, where spars, rope, sails, and other necessaries, can be had in good order, and at a small advance on the market price in England or America. A ready communication might be established by means of steamers with this place or any other upon the coast, which would carry the superfluities of cargo to the islands, and bring from thence the stores or whatever

else might be required, while these superfluities, along with other articles of speculation, might be sent in small vessels to every part of the coast with ease and safety. The small vessels might skim over the seas without danger from the shoals; while the frequency of their appearance would, in time, make them familiar, and at last, obtain for them a license to trade without interruption: and what is not unimportant, the sight of them occurring so often, would indicate that they were not far from home.

To effect so desirable an object as the establishment of a colony in the midst of these seas, an appeal must be made to government, which is never so likely to be successful as when it is backed by the concurrent opinions of an enlightened public. When all acknowledge that something must be done to protect our commerce in these regions from vexation and loss, and to gain a better acquaintance with the inhabitants, do not be particular, my countrymen, in the choice of expedients, provided they are just and lawful, but take the first that offers, till you can find a better. The one I recommend is feasible, at least in my judgment, and in the judgment of several about me, who have devoted their attention to the subject. Look at your map and turn the matter over in your own mind, and it is not unlikely that you will soon be of the same way of thinking. Some of my Christian brethren, in whose prayers I hope the Bible Agency of China has sometimes a share, will say, perhaps, that the distribution of God's word and missionary efforts will soon of themselves accomplish all I contemplate, without any extraneous and perhaps, questionable assistance. Upon that head we will not spend a moment's controversy, but these all-powerful instruments for doing good must first have fair play, otherwise they will effect but little or nothing. In order to instruct or convert the people we must get at them, but this we cannot do at present, save by ways and methods so full of degradation, hurry, or annoyance, that our best endeavors are often paralyzed, though we see that the line of our duty runs onward, and the promise of God urges us to follow it with courage and cheerfulness. When I can travel in town or in country with my bag of Bibles without the fear, or rather the certainty, of being haled before a magistrate, and from thence to a dungeon; and when the missionary can teach publicly and from house to house, without jeopardy of losing his head, I shall then find so much to occupy my mind and engage my heart, that I will consent to leave all wordly projects to be dealt with by wiser heads than my own, and withal allow my friends in England to inscribe upon their performances, CHINA OPEN, in as large a character as they please, and to descant upon the theme with all the enthusiasm of thought and play of language that a glowing fancy can supply. In the meanwhile you must remember, that between us and a right understanding with China there is a large barrier of ignorance, pride, and prejudice, to remove which every engine, with a firm reliance on God's help, must be used. The occupation of the Bonin Islands would not achieve all, but it would perform a good part in the execution of the work, I have therefore, felt it to be my duty to suggest and recommend it to you.

For the arguments here used, and for the mode of handling them, I am myself alone responsible; should they produce conviction in the minds of some, or furnish a hint for reflection in others, and so help to set forward a good design, the credit must be ascribed to T. R. Colledge, esq., senior surgeon to his majesty's commission, who, by his professional zeal and long continued exertions for the welfare of this people, has earned the title of the Chinaman's Friend, while his patient efforts, to extend and improve our intercourse with the Chinese, commend him to the grateful feelings of his countrymen. His example has been followed by the Rev. P. Parker, M. D., from the American Board of Missions, who has now, for more than twelve months, conducted an Ophthalmic Institution at Canton, with great ability and increasing success. To incite some of the medical profession in England to come hither and coöperate in the advancement of the same good work, is the motive for this short encomium, with which I wind up my letter. (Signed) G. Tradescant Lay.

China, November 27th, 1836.

ART. III. *Treaty of amity and commerce between his majesty the magnificent king of Siam and the United States of America.*

His majesty, the sovereign and magnificent king in the city of Sia-Yuthia, has appointed the Chou Phaya Phra-klang, one of the first ministers of state, to treat with Edmund Roberts, minister of the United States of America, who has been sent by the government thereof, on its behalf, to form a treaty of sincere friendship and entire good faith between the two nations: For this purpose the Siamese and the citizens of the United States of America shall with sincerity hold commercial intercourse in the ports of their respective nations, as long as heaven and earth shall endure. This treaty is concluded on Wednesday the last of the fourth month of the year 1194, called pi-marong chattavasok (or the year of the dragon), corresponding to the twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord 1833. One original is written in Siamese, the other in English; but as the Siamese are ignorant of English and the Americans of Siamese, a Portuguese and a Chinese translation are annexed to serve as testimony to the contents of the treaty. The writing is of the same tenor and date in all the languages aforesaid: it is signed on the one part, with the name of the Chau Phaya Phra-klang, and sealed with the seal of the lotus-flower of glass; on the other part, it is signed with the name of Edmund Roberts, and sealed with a seal containing an eagle and stars.

One copy will be kept in Siam, and another will be taken by Edmund Roberts to the United States. If the government of the United States shall ratify the said treaty and attach the seal of the government, then Siam will also ratify it on its part and attach the seal of its government.

Article I. There shall be a perpetual peace between the United States of America and the magnificent king of Siam.

Article II. The citizens of the United States shall have free liberty to enter all the ports of the kingdom of Siam, with their cargoes of whatever kind the said cargoes may consist, and they shall have liberty to sell the same to any of the subjects of the king or others, who may wish to purchase the same, or to barter the same for any produce or manufactures of the kingdom, or other articles that may be found there. No prices shall be fixed by the officers of the king on the articles to be sold by the merchants of the United States, or the merchandise they may wish to buy; but the trade shall be free on both sides, to sell, or buy, or exchange, on the terms and for the prices the owners may think fit. Whenever the said citizens of the U. S. shall be ready to depart, they shall be at liberty to do so, and the proper officers shall furnish them with passports, provided always there be no legal impediment to the contrary. Nothing contained in this article shall be understood as granting permission to import and sell munitions of war to any person excepting to the king, who, if he does not require, will not be bound to purchase them: neither is permission granted to import opium, which is contraband, or to export rice, which cannot be embarked as an article of commerce. These only are prohibited.

Article III. Vessels of the United States, entering any port within his majesty's dominions, and selling or purchasing cargoes of merchandise, shall pay, in lieu of import and export duties, tonnage, license to trade, or any other charge whatever, a measurement duty as follows: the measurement shall be made from side to side, in the middle of the vessel's length, and if a single decked vessel on such single deck, if otherwise on the lower deck. On every vessel selling merchandise, the sum of one thousand seven hundred ticals or *bats* shall be paid for every Siamese fathom in breath so measured, the said fathoms being computed to contain seventy-eight English or American inches, corresponding to ninety-six Siamese inches. But if the said vessel should come without merchandise and purchase a cargo with specie, she shall then pay the sum of fifteen hundred ticals or *bats* for each and every fathom, before described. Furthermore, neither the aforesaid measurement, nor any other charge whatever, shall be paid by any vessel of the United States that enters a Siamese port for the purpose of refitting, or for refreshments, or to inquire the state of the market.

Article IV. If hereafter the duties payable by foreign vessels be diminished in favor of any other nation, the same diminution shall be made in favor of the vessels of the United States.

Article V. If any vessel of the United States shall suffer shipwreck on any part of the magnificent king's dominions, the persons, escaping from the wreck, shall be taken care of and hospitably entertained at the expense of the king, until they shall find an opportunity to be returned to their country, and the property saved from such wreck shall be carefully preserved and restored to its owners, and the United

States will repay all expenses incurred by his majesty on account of such wreck.

Article VI. If any citizen of the United States, coming to Siam for the purpose of trade, shall contract debts to any individuals of Siam, or if any individual of Siam shall contract debts to any citizens of the United States, the debtor shall be obliged to bring forward and sell all his goods to pay his debts therewith. When the product of such bona fide sale; shall not suffice, he shall be no longer liable for the remainder, nor shall the creditor be able to retain him as a slave, imprison, flog, or otherwise punish him, to compel the payment of any balance remaining due, but shall leave him at perfect liberty.

Article VII. Merchants of the United States, coming to trade in the kingdom of Siam, and wishing to rent houses therein, shall rent the king's factories, and pay the customary rent of the country. If the said merchants bring their goods on shore, the king's officers shall take account thereof, but shall not levy any duty thereupon.

Article VIII. If any citizens of the United States, or their vessels, or other property, shall be taken by pirates and brought within the dominions of the magnificent king, the persons shall be set at liberty and the property restored to its owners.

Article IX. Merchants of the United States, trading in the kingdom of Siam, shall respect and follow the laws and customs of the country in all points.

Article X. If hereafter any foreign nation, other than the Portuguese, shall request and obtain his majesty's consent to the appointment of consuls to reside in Siam, the United States shall be at liberty to appoint consuls to reside in Siam, equally with such other foreign nation.

* * * Here were annexed the seals and signatures of the Phra-klang and the envoy, leaving space for the seal of his majesty to be hereafter attached. Below them is the following certificate.

Whereas the undersigned, Edmund Roberts, a citizen of Portsmouth, in the state of New Hampshire in the United States of America, being duly appointed an envoy by letters patent, under the signature of the president and seal of the United States of America, bearing date at the city of Washington, the twenty-sixth day of January, A. D. 1832, for negotiating and concluding a treaty of amity and commerce between the United States of America and his majesty the king of Siam: now, know ye, that I, Edmund Roberts, envoy as aforesaid, do conclude the foregoing treaty of amity and commerce and every article and clause therein contained, reserving the same nevertheless for the final ratification of the president of the United States of America by and with the advice and consent of the senate of the said United States.

Done at the royal city of Sia-Yuthia, (commonly called Bangkok) on the twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, and of the independence of the United States of America, the fifty-seventh.

(Signed) EDMUND ROBERTS,

ART. IV. *Free intercourse with Eastern Asia, considered in connection with the voyage to Japan, the occupation of the Bonin Islands, the treaty of the United States with Siam, and the present position of the British authorities in China.*

EACH of the three preceding articles demands from us a few remarks. The enterprises, to which they refer, are among the signs of the times, and indicate the spirit of the age. Free intercourse with the great nations of this hemisphere will not be established, until far more information is obtained: the people and rulers of these countries must be better acquainted with those of the west; while the latter must know more accurately the condition and character of the former. We do not wish to see Europeans extending their possessions in these regions, nor their inhabitants bound under foreign rule; on the contrary, we prefer they should enjoy perfect freedom. There are many forms of slavery; and, perhaps, national bondage is not the least in the list of these evils. Not an inch of territory would we wish to have wrested from its lawful masters, in the east. In the cause of emancipation, a noble career has been commenced by Great Britain and the U. S. of America: if the latter has the most to do at home, the former has the most to do abroad. In allusion to England it has been said, 'It is far better to be the mother, than the master, of many nations.' States, as well as individuals, have their pupilage; and when that period is completed, the former, as well as the latter, ought to go free. And they will do so. Throughout all this hemisphere freedom is unknown. A better order of things must come—and will come, when the people of Christendom understand their obligations and do their duty. It is practicable; even now, for ministers plenipotentiary, from Great Britain, France, and the United States, to reside at the courts of Peking and Yédo. But so long as the people of the west remain ignorant and regardless of these 'ends of the earth,' no great improvements can be effected. It is full time the governments of Japan and China were approached, friendly negotiations commenced, and free and well-regulated intercourse established. The Chinese adage is here apposite:

She shang woo nan sze,

Jin sin tsze puh keen:

In all the world nothing is impossible,

The hearts of men only are wanting in resolution.

The voyage of the Morrison, her expulsion from the harbors of Japan, with the rejection of seven shipwrecked mariners, cannot fail to excite attention, and lead to inquiry. The *Morrison* had a right to enter the harbors as she did—in a peaceable manner, for the benevolent object of restoring to their homes the unfortunate and peniless sufferers. Duty required that the men should be returned. The attacks, made on the party, were savage and murderous. But

for ability to escape, the vessel would have been sunk. Had she entered the harbors disabled and in distress, she would have received the same treatment, and a long captivity would have been the lot of her company and crew. What shall be said of the conduct of the Japanese government, in this case, towards its own subjects? See those poor men on shore, surrounded by multitudes of their countrymen; see them anxiously inquiring for their families, and honestly giving their depositions, with confident expectations of speedy release. In the mean time, armed men were collecting; the engines of death were prepared; and in an unexpected moment, all their hopes of return were blasted! The cause of such conduct ought to be investigated, that (to say nothing of the past) it may be prevented in future. In this case, the government of the United States is called on to make investigation, and to obtain such explanations of the past, and such securities for the future, as justice will approve.

The occupation of the Bonin Islands is important, particularly as it regards the approach to Japan. So far as we know, the proposition of Mr. Lay has the approbation of nearly the whole foreign community in Canton, though all do not go with him to the full extent of his deductions. The distance of the islands from the Chinese coast, their position, out of the ordinary track of vessels sailing to and from China, and their small extent of territory, are serious objections, in the view of some, to the mercantile part of his plan. We ourselves doubt whether, as a commercial colony, they can ever rise to very great importance, though, as suggested by Mr. Lay, they may serve most beneficial purposes. As a naval station, as a rendezvous for the numerous vessels engaged in the 'whale fisheries,' and as a point *d'appui* for Japan, they may surely be useful. And as regards their extent and capabilities, it may yet appear that the Bonin Islands are more valuable, than they are generally supposed to be. According to a Japanese authority, the whole group contains no less than eighty-nine islands. The reader will find a description of the group in our third volume, pages 510-516. The thanks of the British public are due to Mr. Lay for bringing the subject to their notice, at the time and in the manner he has done.

Perhaps, if investigation were made, some other spot, more convenient than the Bonin Islands, and nearer to the Chinese coast, might be obtained; it might not be found impracticable to obtain a place 'to stand upon,' at the Hajikoséma group, or on the east coast of Formosa, or on some of the islands between Formosa and Japan. If justice were done to the people of Lewchew, perhaps they would be freed from the domination of Japanese princes, and be found ready to form treaties with those who are both willing and able to guaranty their liberty and independence. The careful consideration of this topic we recommend to the notice of all those who are interested in the welfare of Eastern Asia.

The treaty of amity and commerce, between the magnificent king of Siam, and the United States of America, is worthy of being 'placed on record.' If it is not so specific and comprehensive as it might be,

it is, nevertheless, a good beginning. If the young princes are duly trained, and their zeal for learning and commerce and free intercourse carefully fostered, the present treaty may take a form, at some future day, more befitting the character of 'magnificent kings.' If some of the shipbuilders in the United States or England would furnish the Siamese government with a first rate vessel, well-armed for defense against pirates, and in other respects well-fitted for commerce, it would serve them as a model for the improvement of their own shipping, and hasten the extension of their commerce. The voyages of the *Conquerer* need not be long limited to Singapore. Voyages to Europe and America will, doubtless, ere long be undertaken. This the treaty seems to anticipate.

The *British flag*, hoisted in Canton on the 12th of last April, was struck on the morning of the 2d instant. The imperial edict, permitting the 'English foreigner' to repair to the provincial city, was published in our last volume, page 527. His arrival here, on the 12th of April, was noticed in the same volume, page 576. Since that time, all communications to and from the governor were transmitted through the hands of the hong merchants, till near the close of the last month, when the intercourse was interrupted—for reasons given in captain Elliots' letter, dated the 29th ultimo, published in our last number. We should like to see all the other foreign flags struck, and never again hoisted in the celestial empire, until they can be respected. The Dutch and French consuls are permitted to exercise authority over their own countrymen to their hearts' content; but by the local government their consular power is treated with utter indifference, not to say contempt. The American consulate is not only without any shadow of influence with the Chinese government; but even with regard to American citizens it is powerless, either to control or to protect. Every house in Canton might hoist its own flag, and the Chinese would doubtless view them with perfect indifference. With foreign flags and consulates the Chinese have no concern.

Her Britannic majesty's commission in China is at present composed of the following members:

Captain Elliot, R. N.,	<i>Chief Superintendent,</i>	Salary	£3000
A. R. Johnson, esq.,	<i>Second Superintendent,</i>	Salary	1500
E. E. Elmslie, esq.,	<i>Secretary and Treasurer,</i>	Salary	800
Rev. G. H. Vachell,	<i>Chaplain,</i>	Salary	800
T. R. Colledge, esq.,	<i>Surgeon,</i>	Salary	1000
J. R. Morrison, esq.,	<i>Chinese Secretary,</i>	Salary	1000
Rev. C. Gutzlaff,	<i>Chinese Secretary.</i>	Salary	800

The history of this commission, since it was first formed in December, 1833, will make a curious chapter in the annals of British intercourse with China. It has been changed, and modified, and changed again. It has been sent to Canton, and been expelled from Canton. It has been to Lintin, and to the gates of the provincial city. It has petitioned for permission to come hither from Macao; and now it has retired to Macao, and 'all communication between it and the local government has ceased.' So let it be. We are glad it is so,

and hope it may thus remain, until the intercourse is placed on a foundation, which shall secure mutual respect, and be worthy of the British name.

It may be asked here, To whom does the blame of all this bad management and ill-success belong? This is a fair question, and ought to be fairly answered. To give such an answer, however, would require more time and space than we can now command. We should like an answer from some of those around us, who are able to canvass and exhibit the subject fairly in all its bearings. Have British subjects in China made those faithful representations to their government at home and to the British people, which the case requires? Have the superintendents, from first to last, acted according to the letter and spirit of their instructions? Have ministers constituted and instructed the commission in the manner they ought? Have the British public and parliament done their duty? Or is there something, in the nature of the case, which renders success impracticable? Answers to these questions are much needed at this time. The British government and people are too much interested in the commerce with China, to allow things to remain long as they are. The instructions from her majesty's government, which have made it necessary for the chief superintendent to retire from Canton, auger well, indicating that, *a better understanding and a different mode of communication are deemed indispensable*. There are, we think, strong reasons for a mission to Peking: the exigences of the case call for such a mission; the peace and welfare of the Chinese empire require it; and the prosperity of foreign commerce, and the dignity and honor of foreign governments demand it. But let it not be undertaken rashly, ignorantly, or with wavering purpose. The enterprise is great, and requires corresponding wisdom and energy. Whether England undertakes this work single-handed, or seeks the coöperation of other nations, scarcely less interested, we pray that it may be conducted on those principles which humanity will approve, and in a manner which God will bless.

ART. V. *Scaou Heō, or Primary Lessons: translation of part ii, chapter 3d, elucidating the line of separation between husband and wife.*

NEXT after the relative duties of the prince and his ministers, the Chinese, in the work before us, treat of those which are incumbent on the husband and wife. This chapter, though brief, is intended to furnish instruction for the parties, through their whole course. There are copies treatises extant on this subject, some of which we should like to see translated. Two volumes of Luhchow's work treat of the education of females. He quotes copiously from the classics, and

from writings of modern times. Only the cardinal duties of husband and wife are noticed in the Seaou Heō; we give the translation without explanatory notes, except a single one on the title of the chapter.

Chapter 3d. Line of separation between husband and wife elucidated.

Note. In the original, the title of this chapter is *ming foo foó che peē* "the line of separation between the husband and wife elucidated." In another place (vol. 5, p. 82,) we have given, "the respective duties of husband and wife," as a free translation of the same. When used as a verb, *peē* means to distinguish, to divide, to separate; but in this place it has a different sense, that of *distinguishment*, the line of distinction or separation.

SECTION I.

In the Illustrations of Rites it is said: "The man and woman, no matchmaker having gone between them, must not know the names of each other. Presents not having been received, no intercourse or intimacy between them is admissible. Therefore, to mark clearly this line of separation, the day and month of their marriage are reported to the prince, and with fasting announced to the deceased ancestors, while friends and fellow-officers are invited to an entertainment of wine and food. When marrying, take not a wife of the same family name; therefore, when purchasing a concubine, if ignorant of her family name, have recourse to divination."

SECTION II.

The Rules of Marriage contain these instructions: "The father, presenting wine to the son, commands him saying, 'Go and receive your consort, and with her sustain the honors of my family; urge and persuade her with respect to succeed her mother-in-law; and in these duties be you constant.' The son answers, 'I will; though I fear my inadequacy for these duties, yet I dare not forget your commands.' When presenting a daughter in marriage, her father commands her saying, 'Be careful and respectful, day and night let there be no opposition to commands.' The mother, presenting a small girdle and a folded napkin, says, 'Be attentive and respectful, day and night fail not in housewifery.' The stepmother [the father's concubine] at the door within, presenting a large girdle, and repeating the instructions of the father and mother, commands her saying, 'Respectfully listen to and honor the words of your father and mother; day and night, in order that you may not err, look on your girdle.'"

SECTION III.

According to the Book of Rites, "The generations of men have their origin in the marriage observances. The wife is taken from a different family, in order to prevent scandal, and to mark the line of separation. The presents must be immaculate, and the language becoming, in this way to teach her rectitude and fidelity—with fidelity to serve her husband, for fidelity is a woman's virtue. Once identified

with him, so long as she lives, she must not change her condition; accordingly, after her husband's decease, she must not marry. The man in person receives the bride. He takes precedence of the woman, on the principle that distinguishes the stronger from the weaker — just as heaven is above the earth, and the prince superior to the minister. Presents are taken when seeking an interview, in order that the line of separation between the man and woman may be clearly marked. When this is done, there will be attachment between the father and son; thereby correct principles will spring forth; which, in their turn, will ensue decorous conduct, and all things will repose in peace. But to lose this line of separation, and to be devoid of correct principles, is to act like brutes."

SECTION IV.

"The family of the bridegroom, when a wife is brought home, must not have music in the house for three days — their thoughts being occupied with the reflection that, their parents are giving place to them. The marriage ceremonies are not congratulatory, — they are those of succession."

SECTION V.

According to the Domestic Instructor, "Observances have their origin in becoming conduct between husbands and wives. The house being partitioned into inner and outer apartments, the men occupy the latter, the women the former. The strong doors of the most retired rooms, are guarded by porters, that the men may not enter them, nor the women pass out of them. They must not have the same clothes-stand. The wife must not presume to hang her clothes with those of her husband, nor to place them in the same wardrobe. She must not presume to resort to the same bathing-room. When her husband is not at home, she must put his pillow into its place, and the bedding into the drawers, doing every thing with care. The younger serves the elder, the inferior the superior, all in like manner. Even among concubines, in respects to clothes and food, the elder takes precedence. The concubine, while attending on her master, in the absence of the wife, must not assume her place."

SECTION VI.

"Men must not speak of what belongs to women; nor women, of what belongs to men. Except in sacrifices and at funerals, they may not receive things from each other in person. When they exchange things the woman receives them in a basket; if she has no basket, they both being seated, the one lays down and the other takes up, the things to be received. The man and woman must not have the same well, nor resort to the same bathing-room; nor sleep on the same mat; nor borrow things of each other. Men and women must not exchange garments. When men enter the inner apartments, they must not laugh, nor point at things. When walking by night they must use a light; if without a light they must stop. Women going abroad, must

veil their faces; they must have a light when walking in the night time, and if without a it they must stop. When upon the road, the men must keep on the right, and females on the left."

SECTION VII.

Confucius said: "The woman is in subjection to the man. Therefore, being without the right of self-direction, there are three conditions in which obedience is required: at home, she must obey her father; when married, she must obey her husband; and after his decease, she must obey her son: in no case, may she presume to guide herself. She must be instructed not to go from her apartments, her business being confined solely to the preparation of food. Therefore, always remaining in her apartments, she must not go a hundred *le* even to attend a funeral. No business is to be under her control, or ought to be done of herself alone. After due deliberation with others, she may act; and of what is well authenticated she may speak. By day, she must not go into the hall; walking by night, she must use a light: in this manner let her perfect her virtue. There are five things which prevent a woman from being taken as a wife: if her family is vicious, she is not to be taken; if the members of her family are insubordinate, she is not to be taken; if any of them has been punished for a crime, she is not to be taken; if the family is tainted with incurable disease, she is not to be taken; if she is the eldest child (brotherless), and her father is dead, she is not to be taken. There are seven causes for which a wife may be put away: viz., disobedience to parents, barrenness, wantenness, jealousy, incurable disease, loquacity, and thievishness. There are three things on account of which she is not to be put away; when the family from which she was taken no longer exists to receive her, she is not to be put away; if she has been three years in mourning with her husband, she is not to be put away; or, if her husband, formerly poor, has become rich, she is not to be put away." Such are the rules by which the sage (Confucius) regulated the intercourse of men and women, and gave dignity to the commencement of marriage rites.

SECTION VIII.

In the Illustration of Duties it is said, "Do not become the friend of a widow's son, who is of mean abilities."

ART. VI. *Siamese History: notices continued from the Siamese era, 945 to 948 (or from A. D. 1584 to 1587).* By a Correspondent.

SIAMESE ERA 945, A. D. 1584. This year Naret, who had now become king, collected 100,000 men, 800 harnessed elephants, and 1500 horses and ordered everything to be in readiness by the first month (December), to march against Kamboja. To the above he added 10,000 men from the province of Rájásemá. The governor of

Petchaburi was appointed to take charge of the galleys from Ligore, Pattalung, Songora, and Chaiyá, 200 in number, laden with provisions, which, with the war-galleys amounted to 20,000, all well armed. A hundred and fifty of these went to guard Chantaburi and other places on the frontiers. [In the armament of these boats is the first mention of gunpowder, that I recollect in this history, though guns are frequently mentioned at dates considerably anterior to the use of gunpowder in Europe. The places from which provisions for this expedition were drawn, as mentioned here, all lie between Kedah on the west, and the gulf of Siam on the east. Ligore, by the Siamese is called Nakhónsithammarát, my ignorance of whose location I acknowledged in a note, on the 57th p. of vol. v. Songora the Siamese also call Songkhlá.] The march was commenced on the 1st day of the 1st month, but they soon halted, and held a feast for five days. The king and his brother accompanied the army, and their movements are described with all possible superlatives and exaggerations.

The principal division of the army proceeded to Paniat, on the road to Batabóng. A nobleman, named Mánu, had seriously offended Náret, and to balance his offense was ordered to go with 25,000 men and take Batabóng and Phóthisat. The king of Kamboja had previously sent spies to Siam, and ascertained the plans of his antagonist. Being thus aware of the enemy's designs, he had had all his forts repaired and forces collected. Batabóng was guarded by 10,000 men under the command of Manómaitri. Phóthisat was under the command of Sowankhalók, with 20,000 men, and 30,000; men were placed under the king's brother Sisuphanmá; at the city of Boribun. Messengers were sent without cessation to and from Batabóng and Phóthisat. The Kambojans had also a fleet of 150 boats, with 10,000 men, well armed with large and small guns and powder at Pásak and Chetoramukh. A small detachment of 5000 men was sent, under the command of a Chinese, to guard the mouth of the river at Phuttaimát.

Mánu proceeded with a rush upon Batabóng, and took it before the Kambojans had time to make any important resistance, secured the governor and his family, 20 elephants, 50 horses, with guns, large and small, and arms of various kinds, in abundance. The governor, was conveyed, of course, to Náret, who ascertained from him the disposition which had been made of the Kambojan forces. Náret inquired of him, if he thought the capture of Phóthisat and Boribun would not be equivalent to the subjugation of the whole country; He replied, "That is more than I can say: you can judge for yourself: but it seems to me, that those places are like the bows of a ship, and that the Kambojan country is like the stern. If the bows receive the dashing of the waves and tempests and are broken and dashed to pieces, it will be a difficult matter to preserve the stern." Náret and his brother were so much pleased with his answer that they determined to retain him in their service. They then left the governor of Náyok with 3000 men, to guard Batabóng, and proceeded to Phóthisat, the commandant of which, being apprized of the fall of Batabóng, made

diligent preparation for them. These were promising at first, but after great slaughter on both sides, the Kambojans were defeated by Mánu, with the loss of 50 elephants, 100 horses, numerous captives and much armor, and Phóthisat fell into the enemy's hands.

Tidings of these events were received by Náret with great joy. There yet remained the city of Boribun. Náret declared that, though it was strongly defended, he was sure he could take it in the twinkling of an eye. Accordingly, after three days' march, he approached it, and seeing that the Kambojans did not come out to assail him, he ordered his officers to attack and take it at once. They made a furious onset, but met a brave resistance; yet ere the day closed, the fortifications were broken down, the city entered, officers and privates, cannon and muskets, with other implements of war, were taken in abundance, with 75 elephants, 200 horses, &c.

But the brother of the Kambojan king (Sisuphanmá), who had the command of the army, fled with 10,000 men to Lawék, the capital, with all possible speed, and made known the state of affairs to the king. The king was greatly incensed and censured his brother severely. His anger, however, did not prevent his making the most vigorous efforts to fortify his capital, by increasing the military, repairing the forts, putting in order a certain machinery which consisted of sharp stakes driven into the ground, and mounting his guns. When all this was done, he sent a deputation to Cochinchina for assistance. But Náret spent only one day at Boribun, and after two days' march reached the capital, to which he immediately laid siege. A small division of the Siamese army had already taken Phuttaimát, and another detachment, under the governor of Petchaburi, had subjugated Pásak, and routed the Kambojan fleet. The Chinese in command of the river, at Phuttaimát, fifteen trading vessels, two Portuguese sloops, and numerous war boats, were taken. These two detachments united and captured Cheturamukh, and then joined the main army at Lawék. Náret ordered fortifications to be erected in front of each gate, and everything to be completed in three days, on penalty of decapitation and gibbeting. He then addressed a letter to the king of Kamboja, saying, that the two countries had formerly been at peace and in friendship, while the Kambojans paid their tribute, and this peace had been wantonly disturbed by the king. He inquired if the king, knowing what he had done, was not satisfied whether he could conquer or not? 'Then,' says he, 'come forth and acknowledge your allegiance and your life may be prolonged by it. If not, come forth and let us enjoy the amusement of a battle. If you do not come in the space of three days, I will send my forces and rend the city to pieces in an instant.'

On the reception of this letter, the king was so offended that he ordered the bearer to be imprisoned and his guns fired at once upon the enemy. The Siamese, though suffering much, still persisted, till on the 1st day of the Siamese year 946 (A. D. 1585), the walls were battered down, the city entered, and great carnage followed. The king was seized and brought to Náret, who smiled and said, "Since you are

a king and wish to enlarge your dominions, why do you not march to Siam and conquer it fairly, instead of availing yourself of every occasion, when we have war with Pegu, to plunder our frontiers and capture defenseless women and children, like a crow robbing eagles' nests? Is this worthy of a king? Now that you are overpowered, tell me what you think of yourself, and tell me truly." The king of Kamboja prostrated himself and acknowledged his criminality, but begged his life, promising future faithful service if it was spared; and if he must die, he could yield to his fate. Náret replied, "I gave my word before the conquest, that I would wash my feet in your blood; think not, therefore, of your life's being spared, but look to another world. As to your family, their happiness shall be provided for." The executioner then cut off the king's head, received the blood in a golden salver, and washed Náret's feet in it, on which occasion the whole body of Siamese attendants gave the utmost demonstrations of joy. After a slight examination of the city, Náret collected the royal family and other Kambojans, to the number of 30,000, marched for and reached Ayuthiyá, by a march of thirteen days.

948. Intelligence was brought to Náret, that Sisainaróng, who had been appointed governor of Tennasserim, had rebelled. This at first was doubted, but still a messenger was dispatched to call him to court. He refused to appear: hence Náret was very angry and dispatched his brother for him, with 30,000 men, 300 harnessed elephants, and 500 horses. Chaiyá, Chumphon, Khlongwán, Dúm, Prán, and Petchaburi,* furnished 15,000 men, who joined the prince at Bángtaphán. The governor of Tenasserim, was greatly alarmed when he found what was approaching, for he knew he could not resist, and if he fled he could not hope to escape. He was compelled to defend himself as best he could. The prince, on reaching the vicinity of Tenasserim, dispatched a letter to the governor, telling him that if he would deliver himself up he would use all his influence in his favor. This offer was declined on the suspicion that it was a mere military stratagem. Thus, nothing was left but to attack the city. Scaling ladders were prepared with torches on the top, that should their approach be resisted, the flames would drive off the assailants. The city was entered, Sisainaróng seized, brought to the camp, and flogged with thirty lashes. An account of these matters was transmitted to Náret, who sent word to his brother, requiring him to conduct Sisainaróng about the city as a public spectacle, and then have his head cut off, and set up on a stake at Tenasserim. This commission he executed and then returned to Siam.

[On this relation it seems natural to remark, that, if the ocean is not wrought into a tempest 'to waft a feather or to drown a fly,' there must either have been a much greater population at Tenasserim in those days than in more modern times, or there is a very great exaggeration in the estimation of the forces sent from Siam. Various circumstances incline me to the conclusion, that it was the latter. All

* These six places are small provinces lying southwest of Bangkok and north of Ligore. The first and last of them are the most important.

partially civilized nations, among whom no regular census is ever taken, are accustomed both to overrate the existing population, and to suppose that the former population was much greater than the present. The Siamese often remark, that formerly their inhabitants were much more numerous than at present, but they furnish no substantial evidence of the fact, unless the statements of their history, written by themselves, be taken as evidence, which would be an assumption of the question in debate, viz., whether the former accounts are not greatly exaggerated. Three or four years ago, when an expedition against Kamboja was undertaken, this disposition, to exaggerate the forces sent, was strikingly manifest. The army was constantly estimated at 50, to 80 thousand, and yet it is almost certain that there never was more than half the estimated number:— Though, therefore, we may justly discredit the estimate of numbers, as being greatly overrated, yet the general story may still be safely relied upon.]

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences. Close of the year 1837; Kingkwa's death; Hingtæ's bankruptcy; burning of opium; Hospital ship at Whampoa.*

THE year, now closing, has been signalized in China, as elsewhere, by disappointments, perplexities, and distress. These calamities seem to have been universal, in all parts of the world,—everywhere effecting, more or less, the interests of governments, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture; even benevolent and religious institutions have felt the shock. Calamities, such as these, spring not from the dust—they come in the wise and good providence of our God; and it becomes us, as his children, to humble ourselves before him, implore his forgiveness, turn from whatever is wrong, and seek and hope for better things in time to come. We hope for, and we wish all our friends and readers, a happy new year.

The death of Kingkwa, which occurred a few weeks ago, and his funeral obsequies, which have recently been witnessed, will be noticed at length in one of our subsequent numbers. He was one of the oldest hong merchants.

The bankruptcy of the Hingtæ hong, has been a cause of no small embarrassment the case is still unsettled; and, not unlikely, may be referred to the British government.

Burning of opium. The traffic in opium was to be stopped many months ago; certain merchants were to be expelled from Canton; and the receiving ships sent home. Such were the orders; the facts are these—the traffic has been continued, at Lintin, at other anchorages far northward on the coast, at Macao, while thousands of chests have entered the Bogue, and not a little of the drug has found its way, in foreign vessels to Whampoa, and in foreign boats to Canton. Smugglers, and smuggling boats, have been seized in great numbers. And to crown the farce, local authorities go in state to the place of military parade and burn the drug: the transaction is duly reported in the provincial court circular, and will forever stand on the records of the fooyuen's office! Now no one, who knows, the Chinese, believes that a pound of opium was burnt; while every one does know that official boats have been the chief agents in carrying the drug!

The hospital ship—'Hope'—so conveniently fitted up at Whampoa, with accommodations for at least a hundred patients, is, we are sorry to hear, threatened with expulsion. There can be no reason, or justice, or tender compassion for far-traveled foreigners, in this measure; and we trust the threat will be as impotent as many others have been, and that the 'Hope' will be allowed to remain.



